



**BHUTTO'S
KILLERS:**
Was it an
inside job?
P.24

**AMIEL
ON
RITALIN**
P.12

★★★ **EXCLUSIVE** ★★★
**The secret American
investigation into
Airbus** P.18

**BAD IDEAS
FROM
TOP CHEFS**
P.48

MACLEANS

www.macleans.ca

JAN.
28th
2008

SUDDENLY TEEN PREGNANCY IS COOL?

P.40

\$5.95 PM 40070230 R 06973



A U.S.
RECESSION
COULD TAKE US
ALL DOWN P.34

NOT BEING PREPARED FOR RETIREMENT DOESN'T MAKE MUCH SENSE EITHER.

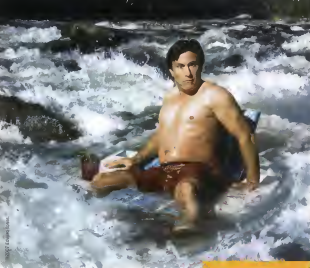


PHOTO: LORENZO LOMAS

One minute, you've got plenty of time to prepare for retirement. The next minute, you're struggling to keep your head above water. So to help you achieve your retirement goals, Edward Jones recommends investment strategies that have proven themselves over the long term. For a free retirement review, contact your local Edward Jones Advisor at 1-800-ED-JONES or edwardsjones.com. Member CDP®.

Edward Jones
MAKING SENSE OF INVESTING

THIS WEEK

Interview

38 MARRIED TO THE PLO
Oswald Koratien talks to Kate Falton about marrying a top PLO official, her time with Yasser Arafat, and getting her kids out of Jordan

Column

9 CAPITAL DIARY
Michael Scharf on Justin Trudeau's danger duty, Martha Hall Findlay's salon sink, and who might be Lauren Harper's David

10 ANDREW COYNE

The thesis that will light a fire under the average taxpayer—and voter—is the promise of filing taxes on a postcard

12 BARBARA ANEL

You can cure a lot with a little pill, but not the natural drawback of human existence

14 PAUL WELLS

It only takes a single tear to remind us that politicians are human—except the trend toward robo-candidates

Medieval

16 AVIARY SECRETS

As revealed in a recent, recently obtained U.S. file, the American believed Airbus was a rigged deal and that relations went to Mulroney's political corner

23 LONGEST SKATING RINK

Whisper challenges Ottawa's Rideau Canal skating rink record. Ralph Klein gets back in the mix, changing the government's message

World

24 WHO KILLED RHUTTO?

The mystery of who is responsible for the worst political assassination in Pakistan's history could be the undoing of Pervez Musharraf's government

28 ALBERTA'S 'WRASSER'

Alberta's new snail in Washington, Gary Mar has plans to sell the oil sands to D-C California and abroad

MACLEAN'S

VOLUME 121 NUMBER 1, JANUARY 28, 2008 • SINCE 1905

2 Faces the Editors 3 Mad Rag 4 Seven Days

JAN. 28-FEB. 4, 2008



Cracking the code: Is John Calhoun's myth and music

THE BACK PAGES

- 50 Taste**
Soon a Restaurant Weekover restaurant may flap in a neighbourhood near you
- 52 Film**
A Canadian director gets the Hollywood treatment
- 53 Help**
It may be too late to save the marriage, but your handwriting holds clues to why it's over
- 54 Sleeps**
It's a free country, that's for sure, but your opinions are on trial
- 57 TV**
Why late-night talk shows are more show, less talk
- 58 Music**
Demystifying jazz legend John Coltrane
- 59 Foodies**
Welcome to the \$2,500 automobile
- 60 The End**
John Harkness, 1954-2007

on this cover: Teen pregnancies are on the rise in the U.S. and U.K.

**SUBSCRIBE TO MACLEAN'S AT
WWW.MACLEANS.CA**

World (continued)

31 WINNING AFRICA
Africa has become fertile ground for China to harvest valuable resources as well as willing supporters in international diplomacy

33 JAPAN'S REAL DAD

Carla Drum's biological father shuns the limelight, religion's plight in Japan, a U.S. water reservoir dries up

Business

34 RECUPULC ECONOMY

The U.S. is headed for a recession and neither Canada, nor the world, will be able to escape the pain

36 BLACK & WHITE

Corbin Black's ex-gambling moves in with his partner of North America's oldest newspaper

38 SCHOOLING BUSINESS

The design of M.B.A. grads prompts an interview pro to demand the proliferation of business schools

39 CUTTING BACK ON CEOs

A rough start to the new year for CEOs, the evils of economic growth: gambling on greenhouse gas emissions

Society

43 COVER STORY TEENAGE MOMS

For the first time in years, more kids are having kids. But as teens embrace motherhood, so too has society embraced them. Is teenage parenting—once a social last pass—now cool?

Science

44 ANCIENT BELIEFS

Some Aborigines are concerned about the implications of a new DNA study in examining the migration patterns of early man

Newsmakers

46 ROSSELLINI IN THE PEO
Delors: Jens won't be a Montreal-born disco heartthrob Japan's defence minister presents for a space invasion, Robbie Williams lands hit at record label (EMI), and Isabelle Rossellini confronts her love affair with Werners



RESIDENTS AND LOCAL leaders have done much to improve on life in North Croydon.

Regina, one year later

To see yourself as others see you is a great gift, observed Scottish poet Robbie Burns. And the role of the media can often be to provide that gift, holding up a mirror to society's problems and agitating for change. That was our goal last winter, when we reported on Region's brightest North Central neighborhood. One year later, we're pleased to report some much-needed changes are afoot.

Our coverage, led by Jonathan Gittleman's Jan. 15, 2000 article "Canada's Worst-Kept Secret," examined the poverty, violence, crime, prostitution and drug culture rampant in the inner city of Saskatchewan's capital. We certainly didn't discover the problems of North Central, And, to its credit, our fall ball had already taken some steps to correct the situation before we arrived. But we were largely treated as a dirty local secret, and our coverage served to turn it into a national embarrassment. As a result, we were blamed locally for being the bearer of bad news. Regina Mayor Pat Patten even threatened to sue our magazine over a wood chipper. But soon after, everyone got to work fixing the problems in a more concerted manner and the results are striking.

Space constraints prevent us from listing all that has happened in North Central over the past year. Suffice to say, a new sense of optimism has taken hold. Neighborhood organizations have benefited from a steady stream of new funding for youth employment and skills training programs, with the prospect of more, particularly from Ottawa. Local businesses have stepped up to recast the image of their city with money and vol-

entire town. There has been greater interaction between city hall and the native community, and talk of a new urban reserve. Just last week the Regina Police Service announced the creation of a new police district in the inner core—explicit recognition of the challenges the area faces. And citizens from all over the city have gotten more engaged.

All that is in it should be. The ultimate solution to North Central's troubles will only come from local effort and ingenuity. But we are pleased to have played a small role in the analysis for change. The [Maslow's] article was beneficial because it generated a lot of discussion and brought our problems up to a national level," says Sandy Wernick, executive director of the North Central Family Centre and a respected local leader. Wernick, along with other local success stories, find themselves in the role of a "change agent" in an attempt to make their cities. That started with the end of Africa, and an acknowledgment that things had to change. "It focuses us on our problem. It brought a lot of people and agencies together that might not have come together," she says. "And it caused our community to ask, 'what can we do?'"

As for the mayor? He's still mad as us. But with all that has gone on, he too acknowledges there's a new sense of urgency to tackle the problems of North Central. "I'm not giving Madison's credit for anything," Finner told the *Register*. Lower Post has put "But I'll give credit to citizens of our community to the corporate community, to the Sacred Wasteful of this world. To those individuals who have stepped up to the challenge." As far as we're concerned, that sounds like giving credit where credit's due. ■

MACLEAN'S

（附：本行在各地之分行及代理店）

[illegible][illegible]

BY MAIL:
For letters to the editor
or your personal
advice, please write to:
With Editors, please specify
NAME, address and telephone
number, and daytime
and evening telephone numbers. Letters
and letters may be edited for
length, style and clarity.

To ask for a letter to be
published, please write to:
The Editor, The New York Times,
212 West 43rd Street, New York, NY 10018-1101.
Tel: (212) 512-2000. Fax: (212) 512-2100.

1998. 2001. 2004. 2007. 2010. 2013. 2016. 2019. 2022. 2025. 2028. 2031. 2034. 2037. 2040. 2043. 2046. 2049. 2052. 2055. 2058. 2061. 2064. 2067. 2070. 2073. 2076. 2079. 2082. 2085. 2088. 2091. 2094. 2097. 2100. 2103. 2106. 2109. 2112. 2115. 2118. 2121. 2124. 2127. 2130. 2133. 2136. 2139. 2142. 2145. 2148. 2151. 2154. 2157. 2160. 2163. 2166. 2169. 2172. 2175. 2178. 2181. 2184. 2187. 2190. 2193. 2196. 2199. 2202. 2205. 2208. 2211. 2214. 2217. 2220. 2223. 2226. 2229. 2232. 2235. 2238. 2241. 2244. 2247. 2250. 2253. 2256. 2259. 2262. 2265. 2268. 2271. 2274. 2277. 2280. 2283. 2286. 2289. 2292. 2295. 2298. 2301. 2304. 2307. 2310. 2313. 2316. 2319. 2322. 2325. 2328. 2331. 2334. 2337. 2340. 2343. 2346. 2349. 2352. 2355. 2358. 2361. 2364. 2367. 2370. 2373. 2376. 2379. 2382. 2385. 2388. 2391. 2394. 2397. 2400. 2403. 2406. 2409. 2412. 2415. 2418. 2421. 2424. 2427. 2430. 2433. 2436. 2439. 2442. 2445. 2448. 2451. 2454. 2457. 2460. 2463. 2466. 2469. 2472. 2475. 2478. 2481. 2484. 2487. 2490. 2493. 2496. 2499. 2502. 2505. 2508. 2511. 2514. 2517. 2520. 2523. 2526. 2529. 2532. 2535. 2538. 2541. 2544. 2547. 2550. 2553. 2556. 2559. 2562. 2565. 2568. 2571. 2574. 2577. 2580. 2583. 2586. 2589. 2592. 2595. 2598. 2601. 2604. 2607. 2610. 2613. 2616. 2619. 2622. 2625. 2628. 2631. 2634. 2637. 2640. 2643. 2646. 2649. 2652. 2655. 2658. 2661. 2664. 2667. 2670. 2673. 2676. 2679. 2682. 2685. 2688. 2691. 2694. 2697. 2700. 2703. 2706. 2709. 2712. 2715. 2718. 2721. 2724. 2727. 2730. 2733. 2736. 2739. 2742. 2745. 2748. 2751. 2754. 2757. 2760. 2763. 2766. 2769. 2772. 2775. 2778. 2781. 2784. 2787. 2790. 2793. 2796. 2799. 2802. 2805. 2808. 2811. 2814. 2817. 2820. 2823. 2826. 2829. 2832. 2835. 2838. 2841. 2844. 2847. 2850. 2853. 2856. 2859. 2862. 2865. 2868. 2871. 2874. 2877. 2880. 2883. 2886. 2889. 2892. 2895. 2898. 2901. 2904. 2907. 2910. 2913. 2916. 2919. 2922. 2925. 2928. 2931. 2934. 2937. 2940. 2943. 2946. 2949. 2952. 2955. 2958. 2961. 2964. 2967. 2970. 2973. 2976. 2979. 2982. 2985. 2988. 2991. 2994. 2997. 3000. 3003. 3006. 3009. 3012. 3015. 3018. 3021. 3024. 3027. 3030. 3033. 3036. 3039. 3042. 3045. 3048. 3051. 3054. 3057. 3060. 3063. 3066. 3069. 3072. 3075. 3078. 3081. 3084. 3087. 3090. 3093. 3096. 3099. 3102. 3105. 3108. 3111. 3114. 3117. 3120. 3123. 3126. 3129. 3132. 3135. 3138. 3141. 3144. 3147. 3150. 3153. 3156. 3159. 3162. 3165. 3168. 3171. 3174. 3177. 3180. 3183. 3186. 3189. 3192. 3195. 3198. 3201. 3204. 3207. 3210. 3213. 3216. 3219. 3222. 3225. 3228. 3231. 3234. 3237. 3240. 3243. 3246. 3249. 3252. 3255. 3258. 3261. 3264. 3267. 3270. 3273. 3276. 3279. 3282. 3285. 3288. 3291. 3294. 3297. 3300. 3303. 3306. 3309. 3312. 3315. 3318. 3321. 3324. 3327. 3330. 3333. 3336. 3339. 3342. 3345. 3348. 3351. 3354. 3357. 3360. 3363. 3366. 3369. 3372. 3375. 3378. 3381. 3384. 3387. 3390. 3393. 3396. 3399. 3402. 3405. 3408. 3411. 3414. 3417. 3420. 3423. 3426. 3429. 3432. 3435. 3438. 3441. 3444. 3447. 3450. 3453. 3456. 3459. 3462. 3465. 3468. 3471. 3474. 3477. 3480. 3483. 3486. 3489. 3492. 3495. 3498. 3501. 3504. 3507. 3510. 3513. 3516. 3519. 3522. 3525. 3528. 3531. 3534. 3537. 3540. 3543. 3546. 3549. 3552. 3555. 3558. 3561. 3564. 3567. 3570. 3573. 3576. 3579. 3582. 3585. 3588. 3591. 3594. 3597. 3600. 3603. 3606. 3609. 3612. 3615. 3618. 3621. 3624. 3627. 3630. 3633. 3636. 3639. 3642. 3645. 3648. 3651. 3654. 3657. 3660. 3663. 3666. 3669. 3672. 3675. 3678. 3681. 3684. 3687. 3690. 3693. 3696. 3699. 3702. 3705. 3708. 3711. 3714. 3717. 3720. 3723. 3726. 3729. 3732. 3735. 3738. 3741. 3744. 3747. 3750. 3753. 3756. 3759. 3762. 3765. 3768. 3771. 3774. 3777. 3780. 3783. 3786. 3789. 3792. 3795. 3798. 3801. 3804. 3807. 3810. 3813. 3816. 3819. 3822. 3825. 3828. 3831. 3834. 3837. 3840. 3843. 3846. 3849. 3852. 3855. 3858. 3861. 3864. 3867. 3870. 3873. 3876. 3879. 3882. 3885. 3888. 3891. 3894. 3897. 3900. 3903. 3906. 3909. 3912. 3915. 3918. 3921. 3924. 3927. 3930. 3933. 3936. 3939. 3942. 3945. 3948. 3951. 3954. 3957. 3960. 3963. 3966. 3969. 3972. 3975. 3978. 3981. 3984. 3987. 3990. 3993. 3996. 3999. 4002. 4005. 4008. 4011. 4014. 4017. 4020. 4023. 4026. 4029. 4032. 4035. 4038. 4041. 40

Be Tech Wise
(info@tech-wisecar.com)
Car Insurance
www.tech-wisecar.com

Be Wiser
1-800-800-4000
1-800-400-8000
in Canada
(800) 400-8000

- Avoid claims problems
- Check your payment standing
- Give the 60% of Maxima's Year 1 net premium today
- Check your expiry date
- Fix the issue
- Learn about the Maxima's In-Cash Program
- Sign up for Maxima's In-Cash Newsletter

WINTER 2000
Thursday 10 July
8am to 10am
Saturday
8am to 10am GST

ON SALE

Members

NEW MEMBERSHIP
From just \$9.95 per year
anywhere in Australia
E-mail may send some of
the subscription information

FO Box 880 Station 1404
Henderson, OR 97124

BY EMAIL:
carrick@masshawaii.com

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Customer Lane Services | of the ways Separation |
| Fast assistance for: | REPORTS AND FIRST ASSISTANCE |
| Customers in your great subscription | Subscription who do not |
| Change your mailing address | with an increase in subscription |
| Deliveries | your rights in their case as |
| Check your account status | Hessman's should continue |
| | for a long and a small |



'My five-year-old wants to be a doctor so she can help me and I can be at home more often'

CALL THE DOCTOR

THANK YOU FOR Caring Gifts and Kate Lusk, an excellent artist, on the donor statement (Addendum to the form) for the 2007-2008 year. (A) The perfect storm, and so it, was created by the coming together of three souls to free people for physicians to be trained in our medical schools in learning about the spiritual, social, and cultural aspects of medicine, and physicians, male and female—who are seeking more balance in their lives. The solution lies in creating more physicians to deal with our aging population, a more reasoned balance between generalists and specialists, and the greater involvement of those at work in health providers, as well as more communication among all providers. We are all speaking the same language in we try to create a renewed resolve for the coming years.

Val Rancilio, past president, Ontario College of Family Physicians, Toronto

QUESTION: *THAT* happens are responsible for the scarcity of medical services because they are increasingly numerous in the profession and work longer hours per week than men. The demographic crisis is probably a major factor in the scarcity of doctors. The welfare state is predicated on a closed demographic pyramid, but our pyramid is now inverted—each new generation is less numerous than the previous, while baby boomers threaten to become a huge burden on every body else. This predicamentary juxtaposition of social programs

GUELLI and LUNALI's analysis ignores the most important determinants of this crisis. In 1993, provincial governments had decided to follow the Basle Committee report, that the increasing costs of healthcare were due to too many doctors. Medical student enrolment and residency positions were slashed almost overnight. Medical graduates were out of it. It was over 10 years before the economy of this state exodus was recognized with the recruitment increase in medical resident places and increased recruiting and licensing of foreign medical graduates. As for women doctors, we have learned that women are excellent role models, solid and healthy physicians. It is a welcome trend that the fine minds of women are increasingly applied to medicine.

Dr Stanley Lublin, Toronto

SOME PHYSICIANS give the impression that they have replaced the humanitarian aspects of a noble profession with greed. A senior in our complex told me that her doctor terminated her visit in the middle of discussing her diagnosis with the consent, "How many times are up? You'll have to make another appointment." That's a long way from the days when a family doctor would make a middle-of-the-night house call.

Bob Thompson, Victoria

IT IS FRUSTRATING that while millions of Canadians are wringing for a family doctor, scores of new Canadians and immigrant doc-

MACLEAN'S

THE DOCTOR CRISIS

DOCTORS: FROM SAVING LIVES TO LIVING THEM

AND WHY IT'S WORST THAN YOU THINK

BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

COVER STORY

She remains underdeveloped, their skills are locked. With a high number of new Canadians with no formal degrees, collecting data and nearly five million Canadians without a fully literate, the math does not seem to add up. While some work is being done toward increasing both internationally trained Canadians and immigrants into the workforce, a lot remains to be done to bring this pool of talent on board. There is need for further emphasis and funding for language programs and credential recognition systems (open for foreign trained doctors).

Gaye Moffitt, RN, *Chairperson, Health Service Working Group, Health Development Ontario, United Way/Centrally Ottawa, Ottawa*

AS A FEMALE family physician in an underserved area, I am acutely aware of the

doctor crisis. My five-year-old daughter has told me she wants to be a doctor when she grows up so that she can help me. I can be home more often. I agree that physician burnout, particularly among female physicians, is a staggering issue, and I have found myself often struggling to meet the competing demands placed on me. The goal we place on ourselves as physicians, mothers and spouses is far greater than people realize. It is an ever-present best interest to have healthy and happy professionals providing the care, and this will require reinvigorating traditional expectations of physicians.

AFTER OVER 30 YEARS of being well-served by family doctors here in Saint John's, I found myself without one last spring. I wrote to New Brunswick's Minister of Health Michael Murphy. He wrote back with a number I could call to be put on a waiting list. That was in May 2007. Still no call. If, according to another friend's letter to the same minister, Saint John is one of Canada's happiest cities ("Go eat, young man," *Good News*, Jan. 14), I would suggest that if people are anxious to New Brunswick, they should check out where the family doctors live: it might be as class as they will get!

Annex Baker, Saint John, N.B.

THE REASON for the high rate of absenteeism in the nursing profession is the severe shortage in Canada and the resulting back-breaking hours of overtime most nurses now put in to make up for the shortage and to ensure quality patient care. It is not possible for human beings to work as hard, for as long, and under such dangerous conditions as nurses do without eventually paying the price.

The reason for the current shortage of doctors—and nurses—has everything to do with cutsback in the mid-1990s. Federal funding of health care was slashed then and has never recovered. Now, with the baby boom generation needing more care than ever, we are short of all medical professionals, both because many are retiring and because we haven't trained sufficient numbers of health care workers in the past decade.

Linda Haslam-Seward, RN, President, Ontario Nurses' Association, Toronto





GRAND PRIZE:

You could WIN the Ultimate Armchair Quarterback ROOM!

The room is valued at up to \$25,000 and consists of:

- A complete room of Lazboy® furniture
- Theater kit (includes wall brackets, TV and wall rack, 12" speakers)
- Home Products
- Sound-enhancing system
- Movie lounge
- Award autographed jersey
- Autographed football and helmet of your favorite professional football player*
- \$1,500 to use toward future purchases

NO PURCHASE NECESSARY TO ENTER OR WIN. Odds of winning based on number of entries received. Drawing begins at 11:00 PM on Tuesday, June 17, 1997 and ends at 11:00 PM on Wednesday, June 18, 1997. Open to legal residents of the United States who are 18 years of age or older at the time of entry. Void in Quebec, outside the US, United States and where prohibited. Canadian residents only. Lazboy® furniture is a registered trademark of the Lazboy Corporation. © 1997 Lazboy Corporation. All rights reserved. *Autographed items are subject to availability and subject to individual return to the Lazboy® store.

LAZBOY

Comfort. It's what we do.

Find a participating dealer near you at lazboy.com



TOO MANY people think flight attendants are glorified waitresses in the sky, says a reader

JANE URQUHART NOT MYSTERY WRITER

I WAS ASTONISHED and dismayed to read the *Mailbox's* article about Lager Wolfe and your completely erroneous assertions about Jane Urquhart's purported authorship of *The Calling* ("Is Lager Wolfe really Jane Urquhart?" *Books*, Jan. 14). Based on your writer's telephone call to me, I surmised that the article would be devoted to your speculations about who the author might be (and of whom seemed to *Mailbox's* to be Jane Urquhart) and the phenomenon of writer-as-a pseudonym. You had no basis to boldly imply that Ms. Urquhart is the pseudonymous author, with no mention of other possibilities. Furthermore, your reporter did not contact Jane Urquhart directly about this matter. I also wish to point out that *Mailbox's* should have known better that Jane Urquhart, as one of the country's leading literary writers, already "commonly successful" with no need to add that description to her "byline."

My position, and that of all of Lager Wolfe's publishers, is not to engage in discussions about the author's identity. However, owing to your egregious conduct, I must now definitely inform you that Jane Urquhart did not write *The Calling*. *Mailbox's* has acted irresponsibly by inaccurately implying our Jane Urquhart exclusively over any other author who could have written this book, on the basis of "anonymous" "evidence."

Elmer Levine, Executive Vice-President, Violent Media Group

man in legislation that is not only needed but is required. That is why this past fall I requested that the House of Commons stand in committee on public safety and national security undertake a review of this important piece of legislation. Regrettably, opposition members on the committee have not put this issue on their agenda.

On the broader criminal justice front, our government has introduced key criminal justice reforms with the Tackling Violent Crime act. This important, tough on-crime legislation will ensure that high-risk and dangerous offenders face tough consequences when they are sentenced and are strictly monitored if and when released. It also increases the speed of prosecution for sexual activity from 14 years to 16 years to better protect our youth against sexual predators.

This vital legislation remains before the Senate. We ask Canadians who agree that these measures are important to join us in demanding that this important legislation be enacted as soon as possible.

Stockwell Day, Minister of Public Safety, Ottawa

NICE PACKAGE, MOSTLY

I WAS APPALLED that *Some People* would refer to "the dehumanizing stress of Air Canada's flight attendants." It is one thing to pick on a company's policies, but to suggest and to reduce the working employee as collectively to such a harsh comment is itself dehumanizing. Too many people look upon flight attendants as glorified waitresses in the sky, whereas what they are trained for—reasons of flight safety in the event of a mishap—is totally forgotten and unappreciated.

Donald Thomas, West Vancouver

WHAT A TREASURE the Jan. 14 issue turned out to be to a keeper. First, Andrew Coyne's piece on the squabbles surrounding the Schreiber affair ("How no evil, yet no evil," *National*). Coyne, whom I have long respected, is an important addition to your staff. I agree with

The Armchair Quarterback Sale.

Because a good armchair quarterback can't succeed while perched on a stool.



January 22 through February 4

FREE Armchair Quarterback Kit with purchase*

Save up to \$100 on select Lazboy® sofas

You could WIN the Ultimate Armchair Quarterback ROOM!



THE ORIGIN

The Origin is a first-moved offensive soccer maneuvering as a position. Take a seat and your opinion on everything from red wine playing to why the color red should never be the way out is better seen as only believed in. They're adopted by the community as a life.

The Armchair Quarterback Sale—a celebration of fully reclined bed models everywhere. With us now get up to \$300 off select furniture and a free Armchair Quarterback Kit with purchase*. After you're comfortable, you'll want to sign up for the chance to win a total Armchair Quarterback room.

Find a participating dealer near you at lazboy.com

NO PURCHASE NECESSARY TO ENTER OR WIN. Odds of winning based on number of entries received. Drawing begins at 11:00 PM on January 22, 1997 and ends at 11:00 PM on February 4, 1997. Open to legal residents of the United States who are 18 years of age or older at the time of entry. Void in Quebec, outside the US, United States and where prohibited. Canadian residents only. Lazboy® furniture is a registered trademark of the Lazboy Corporation. © 1997 Lazboy Corporation. All rights reserved. *Autographed items are subject to availability and subject to individual return to the Lazboy® store.

LAZBOY

Comfort. It's what we do.



Teen Moms Tell All

WEB EXTRA: Two high-school students from Calgary share their sobering baby-raising stories, and give words of wisdom to knocked-up teen TV star Jamie Lynn Spears.

macleans.ca/teenmomspears/

WEB EXCLUSIVES



Inside the Queensway

Kady D. Hall's daily hit to the latest happenings on and off the Hill macleans.ca/55/



Megapundit

There's only one way to know what's really going on in this country: by trying to check in with Chris Steele's daily roundup. macleans.ca/megapundit/

EDUCATION



Scholarship Finder

Search over 10,000 scholarships in Maclean's exclusive database. macleans.ca/scholarships/



Canada's leading news network on the 50th anniversary of its launch. macleans.ca/cbc50/

LATEST COMMENTS



John Geddes

"Campaigning is an art form. It's a problem for Harper, as he's required to have no 'hard facts'." macleans.ca/johngeddes/

BLOG CENTRAL



Paul Wells

Celebrated Maclean's columnist Paul Wells on assignments in Delhi. macleans.ca/paulwells/



Andrew Coyne

Our new national editor has a contrarian take on politics and policy. macleans.ca/andrewcoyne/



Luiza Ch. Savage

Check in with our Washington correspondent as the U.S. presidential campaign heats up around a key U.S. swing state. macleans.ca/luizach/

TOP STORIES THIS WEEK

Opening weekend with Brian D. Johnson

This week our film critic reviews Kate Winslet's return to the big screen in *Mad Max: Fury Road*. J.J. Abrams' mysterious mystery movie *Star Trek* and more new releases.

The Macleans.ca Interview: Will Leitch

In his new book, *Don't Save the Planet*, the *Washington Post* blogger makes a case for how fast—and not growing—sports centres and disgraced athletes are going to bring fan back into pro sports.

Family Day turns dysfunctional

Ontario's much-maligned new holiday may be more trouble than it's worth.

Inside the Queensway
Kady D. Hall's daily hit to the latest happenings on and off the Hill macleans.ca/55/

Megapundit
There's only one way to know what's really going on in this country: by trying to check in with Chris Steele's daily roundup. macleans.ca/megapundit/

Scholarship Finder
Search over 10,000 scholarships in Maclean's exclusive database. macleans.ca/scholarships/

Canada's leading news network on the 50th anniversary of its launch. macleans.ca/cbc50/

LATEST COMMENTS

John Geddes
"Campaigning is an art form. It's a problem for Harper, as he's required to have no 'hard facts'." macleans.ca/johngeddes/

Paul Wells
Celebrated Maclean's columnist Paul Wells on assignments in Delhi. macleans.ca/paulwells/

Andrew Coyne
Our new national editor has a contrarian take on politics and policy. macleans.ca/andrewcoyne/

Luiza Ch. Savage
Check in with our Washington correspondent as the U.S. presidential campaign heats up around a key U.S. swing state. macleans.ca/luizach/

Maclean's Book Club
This week our film critic reviews Kate Winslet's return to the big screen in *Mad Max: Fury Road*. J.J. Abrams' mysterious mystery movie *Star Trek* and more new releases.

The Macleans.ca Interview: Will Leitch
In his new book, *Don't Save the Planet*, the *Washington Post* blogger makes a case for how fast—and not growing—sports centres and disgraced athletes are going to bring fan back into pro sports.

Family Day turns dysfunctional
Ontario's much-maligned new holiday may be more trouble than it's worth.

Maclean's Book Club
This week our film critic reviews Kate Winslet's return to the big screen in *Mad Max: Fury Road*. J.J. Abrams' mysterious mystery movie *Star Trek* and more new releases.

The Macleans.ca Interview: Will Leitch
In his new book, *Don't Save the Planet*, the *Washington Post* blogger makes a case for how fast—and not growing—sports centres and disgraced athletes are going to bring fan back into pro sports.

Family Day turns dysfunctional
Ontario's much-maligned new holiday may be more trouble than it's worth.

'Mullah Krekar's quote shows Brits are good global citizens, trying to rein in the global population'



his premise wholeheartedly. Let's get to the bottom of the Al-Buhārī/Schabazz/Mulwony government gonzo on one and/or for all. While I am not of Mark Steyn's political stripe, I am in total agreement with his point that human rights campaigners have no standard to act as a measure of his speech ("Here's what offends this writer"). Will their consciences finally come right up and provide a list of genuine white lies? That Scott Fitchak's column ("In your own back: He's fed the goat", *Canoe*) Scott, you always! I laughed so hard I felt off my chair. It was the first real belly laugh I had in 2008. Thank you, Maclean's. **Rene Eisenman, Niagara, Ont.**

NOT-SO-FREE SPEECH

WELL, HERE'S WHAT offends that reader at the cringing censorship of free speech by nations who don't seem to have a history of democracy in their hinter states, and are trying to limit it in democratic countries to which they migrate? ("Here's what offends this writer," *Sun*, Jan. 34) Freedom of speech doesn't mean only some citizens can say what they think while the host society has to shut up and just go. As for Mullah Krekar's quote on birth rates, it shows the firm as good global citizens, trying to rein in the exploding global population. Maybe the good mullah should restrict his flock to the good global citizen too. **Eve Syme, West Vancouver**

I DON'T AGREE WITH a lot of what Scott has to say, although I admire his writing and intelligently nuanced arguments. However, I am compelled to voice my support for him as this Canadian Islamic Congress/Canadian Human Rights Commission writhe have both social liberals and conservatives alike should be reading the wagons and raising to his defence. What's new? Rick Mercer? **Peter Baskerville, Geneva**

I HAVE READ STEYN's book *American After*. I enjoyed it as much as I enjoyed *Inspiration* by Cornell West during Black's legal nihilism/China, China, I don't know, however, give the devil his due: the Canadian Human Rights Commission on an individual protestant have gone too far in their quest for political correctness, and have become a mill stone around the neck of zombies everywhere. **Signeard Knott, Mississauga, Ont.**

REMEMBERING OSCAR

THE PASSING OF Oscar Peterson has brought back wonderful memories of growing up on Notre Dame Street West in Montreal ("Death of a working class virtuoso," *Mirror*, Jan. 14). Among my documents at Royal Arthur Public School was a follow by the name of Oscar Peterson. Oscar never forgot his roots: even after he became famous, whenever we would meet he would always remember his friends growing up. What wonderful memories of going to Victoria Hall on Saturday night to listen and dance to Oscar and the Johnny Holmes orchestra with the late Maynard Ferguson, and the good times with Oscar at the old Alberta House. Canada and the world has lost a musical genius and a great human being. **Bernard E. Davis, Côte Saint-Luc, Que.**

WHEN CULTURES COLLIDE

MY REACTION TO yesterday's B.C. teacher removed from her school by a brutal dogma for a longhouse ritual: no counts no ("Spiritual energy," *National*, Jan. 34). If a non-native Canadian was united against her will and subjected to physical deprivation for weeks in secret rituals, we'd call that kidnapping, forcible confinement, torture and harassment. Why are the RCMP and the B.C. attorney general refusing to enforce Canada's criminal law on that case and to name Rosanne Harp? **David MacIsaac, Vancouver, Ont.**

IN PASSING

Sir Edmund Hillary, 85, mountaineer. In 1951, he became the first person to climb Mount Everest, accompanied by Nepalese Sherpa Tenzing Norgay. He also founded a group aimed at improving Sherpas' living conditions. Among his other adventures: travelling to the source of the Ganges, and founding New Zealand's Antarctic research station.

Christopher Bowman, 46, figure skater. Nicknamed "Boomer the Showman" for his on-ice flamboyance, the Olympic skater had a prime hit crooked by drugs and alcohol. A former child star who appeared on *Late Show on the Prairie*, between the U.S. men's figure skating titles in 1989 and 1990.

RELIVE.
DON'T
REPRINT.

Enjoy printing and preserving your holiday memories with Original HP Ink Cartridges. 95% of all ink cartridges are only 30% of all ink cartridges. So you spend your time printing, not reprinting. And when those holiday moments last night?

Find out more at hp.com/relive or visit your local retailer.

WHAT DO
YOU HAVE
TO SAY?



© 2011 HP Development Company, L.P. All rights reserved. HP, the HP logo, and the "original" logo are trademarks of HP Development Company, L.P. in the U.S. and other countries. All other marks are the property of their respective owners.



7 DAYS

A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF TONY ROMO

Following a weekend getaway to Mexico with Jessica Simpson, his latest celebrity crush, the Dallas Cowboys' star QB failed for a second straight season to break his team's streak of playoff futility, now at 10 years. The 21-17 loss at home to the underdog New York Giants left Romo on the defensive about the timing of his recent beach vacation. Simpson, dubbed 'Niko Romo' by better fans, wasn't even at the game. Apparently, she was in the spa池 working on her cellulite.

Good news

A surge of hope

Desperate to secure newly freed captives, Canadian officers were no doubt thrilled this week to hear the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff talking up the idea of a surge of American soldiers in Afghanistan. The proposal to deploy some 3,000 U.S. Marines to the enemy camp in Kandahar, British and U.S. soldiers face a renewed threat from Taliban insurgents, with little support from other NATO members. At the Pentagon, if not at the White House, there's growing urgency to keep the Afghan mission from backsliding. And if Defense Secretary Robert Gates needs proof of Taliban impunity, he got it this week in a suicide attack on a bus very close to Kabul, which killed several and injured several others. The time to act is now.

Fewer heartbreaks

This week offered some hopeful thousands of patients an desperate need of an organ transplant in Britain, Prime Minister Gordon Brown showed his support behind a "presumed consent" plan that will make everyone an organ donor unless they opt out in advance. In related news, scientists in the United States have discovered a way to coax dried animal hearts back to life—a breakthrough that could one day provide a limitless supply of replacement human hearts. And in Canada, it turns out that gay men can donate their organs after all. Despite news reports stating otherwise, a new Health Canada directive does not ban donors from having sex with homosexuals. It simply insists that such "high-risk" donors are properly screened for diseases such as HIV and hepatitis.

Bad news

Fête accompli

So much for winter festivities in La Belle Province. Organizers of Montreal's annual Fête des Neiges have called off the carnival this year, citing security concerns stemming from ongoing negotiations with the city's blue-collar union. Because the CUPE local wouldn't guarantee a no-strike zone on grounds nearby during the three-week event, which was attended by some 300,000 people last year. The CSN, Quebec's largest labour

union, lost 2.5 million last season to run its St. Owen show in any of the other snow-covered cities. Besides, critics of the alternative bids say Canada should uphold what is apparently a global tradition of placing national portrait galleries in capitals. Meanwhile, even a donation to Ottawa would not likely be enough to save the Guy LaBardie museum in London, Ont., now on the verge of closing after a year of dismal attendance (only 400 visitors).

Fit to be tied

If you were robbed last year, odds are it wasn't your car or your wallet it was your name. According to a new U.S. report, identity theft is thriving like never before because companies and governments are failing to protect personal records. In 2007 alone, data breaches rose by more than 90 per cent—exposing 137 million pieces of personal information to would-be thieves. And pornography lovers to the growing list of victims. A New Jersey company that sells software to adult websites says hackers were able to access the system and steal confidential subscription lists. If you're into hard-core bondage, you'd better check your credit card statement.

Piano logic

People with disabilities, including those impaired by obesity, will no longer have to pay for a second seat to meet their needs, the Canadian Transportation Agency has ruled. While we support the right of people to fly safely and comfortably, other passengers aboard will carry the extra cost of the two-for-one deal. Delta's airline brings together all the airlines, with their use of message seats with non-message legroom. ■

Some contest

Despite the eight other cases scrambling to assemble bids to host Canada's National Portrait Gallery, it appears the museum will likely settle up in Ottawa, as per the original plan. A leaked report from the capital obtained by the CBC revealed that it will

FACE OF THE WEEK



STUDENT POWER At New Brunswick's Bathurst High School, after seven classmates and a teacher died in a highway accident.

When nothing's on

The writers' strike is proving to be an excellent tool for fighting civic apathy in the U.S. Instead of spending their time watching *Boston Legal* and *NBC's* 3-2-1-Go! Americans are in for yet another year of woefully biased relations.

federation, it means while appealing a recent Superior Court decision to squash the Chinese government's attempt to limit collective bargaining power. The government says it will appeal Quebecers are in for yet another year of woefully biased relations.

Wells Fargo Foothill Canada

WELLS FARGO

The Next Stage

At Wells Fargo Foothill Canada, our team is dedicated to providing middle-market companies with flexible, innovative senior secured financing solutions. Our credit facilities, ranging from \$10 million to \$1 billion and more, are available to companies in a wide range of industries, including:

- Manufacturing
- Wholesale & Distribution
- Service Companies
- Energy & Power
- Software & Technology
- Retail
- Restaurants & Other Hospitality
- Media & Communications
- Gaming
- Healthcare
- Specialty Commercial Finance Companies
- Vacation Ownership

Our credit facilities are used for:

- Acquisitions
- Growth
- Working Capital
- Debtor-In-Possession (DIP)
- Debt Restructuring
- Turnarounds



Let us find the solutions for your company's needs.

Call or visit us online to learn more.

(877) 770-1222 • wells.fargofoothill.ca

Leading in RELATIONSHIPS. Providing SOLUTIONS.™

Wells Fargo Foothill Canada is a member of Wells Fargo Bank, N.A. Member FDIC. © 2008 Wells Fargo Bank, N.A.

Promote yourself.

Calgary: the newest big city that's all about energy. We live it. We breathe it. We thrive on it. To make sure your career does too, you'll need an MBA from a business school at the heart of the action — the **Haskayne School of Business**.

HASKAYNE
School of Business



BUSINESS MNUAL

HASKAYNE.MBA.CA

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL GOODMAN



TRUDEAU: Campaign duty calls

MADONNA, OPRAH AND NOW, JUSTIN

Justin Trudeau has had his family name carry a lot of weight, but now he wants to be known as his own man. And so he will be, in cyberspace. Trudeau will soon be launching justin.ca as his official website, joining other such notable one-name celebrity sites in madonna.com, oprah.com and oscaros.com. The group building the site was able to purchase parts of the domain from individuals who had been holding on to it for some time. Trudeau doesn't own the dot-com and the codename of his own full name, justin.ca, doesn't even reflect his last name, an online resource guide for Canadian websites. Trudeau's camp says the website owners offered to "loan" the domain to the Liberal candidate for Peguine, but they passed. Meanwhile, justintrudeau.com is an advertising mess filled with out-of-date links to such things as Air Canada's website and weight loss diets. Trudeau is hoping to move his Facebook traffic to justin.ca; he has over 5,000 supporters on Facebook. (His place O'Brien has more than 10,000 supporters.) Stephen Harper has around 7,000. Trudeau used to answer all his Facebook messages personally until the arrival of baby Xavier James Trudeau this past October. Now someone else must

answer Facebook page and answer key messages on his fan. Sorry, diapers need to be changed.

THE BUS IS BACK

Former Liberal leadership contender Martha Hall Findlay officially opened her campaign office in Willowdale, Ont., by having Jim Peterson arrive in her Toronto bus. Peterson resigned his House seat, allowing Hall Findlay to run in the March 12 by-election. After the leadership race in December '06, the bus was put up for sale on eBay for about 10 days, then removed. Hall Findlay says after the campaign she is ditching the bus for good. Fellow Liberal by-election candidate Bob Rae (Toronto Centre) made an appearance at the campaign office and said he was happy to be in "northern Ontario" (Willowdale isn't Toronto's northern border). Former Liberal MP Sam Bane also showed. She held the Toronto riding of Markham High Park from 1997 to 2006, then got

RAE and Hall Findlay at her new campaign office, in a red bus and bus garage up for the March 12 by-election



MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON THE JUSTIN TRUDEAU SEAT SALE AND MARTHA HALL FINDLAY'S SALON SINK

whomped by the NDP's Peggy Nash. Since Gerard Kennedy plans to run under riding in the next general election, Bane is hoping to run in Don Valley West, the current riding of Liberal MP John Godfrey (who has announced he won't be running). In her campaign office, Hall Findlay has a framed photo of Jason Trudeau shaking her hand when she was an expensive dinner in '06. There is also a red 1997 converted tour van that once carried Hall Findlay in her current home. First she was a resident in the banding/transportation. Since she started campaigning, she has also been able to use the Russian she learned as a child, winning over at least one constituent. Some voters, however, have been less congenial: one woman told Hall Findlay she should consider getting Bane. A big blessing for Hall Findlay has



RAE and Hall Findlay at her new campaign office, in a red bus and bus garage up for the March 12 by-election

been the Willowdale Women's Liberal Club, whose members were there for Peterson when he was first elected in 1988. The Willowdale women's caucus find is always on hand. When Hall Findlay ran for the Liberal leadership she needed to use a cheap to hold her campaign for the Liberal Party, longtime Liberal volunteer Maria Edwards made decided steps. Edwards has seen her fair share of Willowdale campaign offices and is grateful this one is at least less dark. In fact, they have one better than dark in the past the space was occupied by a hair salon, and there is still a hair-washing station in place.

WHO WILL BE LAUREN'S BEAST?

Lauren Harper will once again be honorary chair for the annual Ottawa House Society Fair Ball on March 29. Last year the theme was Mark O'Connell and her concert was Environment Minister John Baird. This year the theme is luxury and the feast. Her date is still not confirmed. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa news, or to contact Michael Raphael, visit michael.ca/ or michael@michael.ca

Do your taxes on a postcard! Save time, and money!



ANDREW COYNE

At some point in the not too distant future, one or another of this country's party leaders is going to campaign for office waving... a postcard. "This," he or she will proclaim, "is what your tax return will look like under my tax plan. As you can see, it's only got 10 lines on it. You can fill it out in about five minutes. No lawyers to keep, no complicated forms to fill out, no need to hire an accountant. And the rate? Just 15 per cent."

That candidate, if elected, will be swept to power. It won't even be close. Tax returns have the same kind of dramatic effect on voters and revenue neutrality and marginal rates of taxation. But what will light a fire under the average taxpayer, even more than the promise of lower rates, is that postcard.

Mind you, you need some credible authority to provide the theoretical underpinnings, if only to make sure that some come out right. And you need someone with the reach to win an activist or advisory group, to take up the cause, before the politicians will dare. So it is significant to note the release of not one but two major tax reform proposals along these lines in many weeks. One, from the Fraser Institute, would take us all the way to the pointcard as we jump a 15 per cent flat tax that would mean substantial change to both the personal and corporate tax systems. The other, from ongoing plans, from the Canadian Taxpayers Federation, would get us halfway there. Together, they may succeed in putting reduced tax returns on the official agenda—or at least provide some ambitious politicians with a platform for a future campaign.

The Fraser plan is the more theoretically ideal, so let's start there. The principle underlying the flat tax can be stated very simply: tax everything, not it at the same rate, and tax it only once. That means, first, getting rid of the many credits and deductions and preferential rates that clutter up the tax code at present.

And second, cutting taxes to a single, low rate. The two are sometimes presented as a trade-off. (Is that paying for the second flat tax which would be worth doing on its own. The main effect of all those credits and exemptions is to make people do things for tax reasons that they would never dream of doing otherwise: investing in wind power, buying condos and so on. A simpler tax code is a virtue.)

Actually, even a flat tax doesn't tax everything. The Fraser plan would retain the current basic personal and spousal exemptions, on the grounds that taxes are supposed to be based on ability to pay—that is, on your discretionary income, success of what is required for subsistence. This means the flat tax also, contrary to myth, a progressive tax: the per-

son flows than such hard-to-measure concepts as income or profit. Businesses would no longer be able to deduct interest payments, for example, but they would be able to deduct the cost of their inputs, since every purchase is somebody else's sale—an which tax was paid. That includes capital equipment, expensed in one year, rather than via complex depreciation schedules. Which in turn means no need to convert savings at the personal level, as with RRSPs, since investment can only be financed out of savings, increasing one amount to exempting the other.

How does the Canadian Taxpayers Federation plan differ from this? It seems clear of the corporate and investment income question altogether the tax treatment of these is

THE FRASER INSTITUTE's sample return: no receipts, no complicated forms, no accountant

centage of your income you pay in tax goes up at your income rises. Only, rather than tax each additional dollar of income at higher and higher rates, as at present, a graph that went out to a larger and larger proportion of your income. Suppose the basic exemption were \$100,000. If you earned \$250,000, you'd pay taxes on half your income. At \$500,000, you'd pay tax on nine-tenths of it.

But what was that bit about taxing income "only once"? The reference is to the business "double taxation" of income, once on corporate profits, a second time after distribution. The current system tries to take account of this through such tortured measures as the dividend tax credit, but still winds up taxing different types of capital income—interest, capital gains, and dividends—at wildly different rates. The Fraser plan solves this at a stroke: business earnings are taxed at the business level, while personal taxes fall only on wages. But of course, it's people who pay the taxes in either case: It's just that under a flat tax, they'd only pay once.

In the end, the flat tax is more like a tax on

left sort in it also retains several credits that Fraser would eliminate, such as the child tax credit, the age credit and credits. And it allows much higher basic and regional tax options at \$75,000 apiece, roughly twice as much as Fraser. The downside instead of cutting rates all the way to 15 per cent, the federation's plan is forced to keep a second, higher rate of 25 per cent on incomes above \$50,000.

That's fine. It would still mean a much simpler, less discriminatory system. And politically, it's more defensible: whereas the Fraser plan would leave many people paying more tax than they do now (those already paying the 15 per cent rate, in particular, who would lose their credits), under the federation's plan, everyone gets a tax cut of some kind. Perhaps some hybrid of the two could be devised, with the simplicity and elegance of the Fraser plan, but with two rates, say 10 per cent and 20 per cent, just to get us out of paying less on a postcard. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Coyne, visit his blog at www.macleans.ca/andrewcoyne

On the frontlines of the day's top stories.

CBC News:
THE NATIONAL

With Peter Mansbridge

Weeknights at 10 (10:30 NT) on CBC Television
9 & 11 ET/PT on CBC Newsworld



CBC NEWS

News flash: politicians are human!



PAUL WELLS

No wonder there's been so much talk of Hillary's loss. Hillary Clinton was in danger for her political life in New Hampshire. But a single year—and she didn't even have to shed it, it just welled up in her eye—was enough to confound the prize who had put her in such peril. A race, a prize: all that's missing is a frog, and Fred Thompson will do in a pinch.

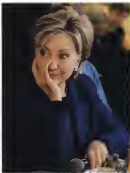
"It's not easy," Clinton told a voter in a coffee shop, "and I could not do it if I just didn't passionately believe it was the right thing to do." That's what her eyes got moist. One of them, anyway. "This is very personal for me. It's not just political. It's not just public."

Of course the moment was all three: her soul, her, but political too, and very public indeed.

Clinton won New Hampshire even though all the polls had said she was running behind. The cherished arch civility of the dialogue between her campaign and Barack Obama's evaporated. The two have turned downstage zippy inevitably, debate over the meaning of the war has deepened debate over, say, the two candidates' health care plans. The usual sea-peak-and-valley upon each side of the war to demonstrate that overthought prose is not dead. German Gaster never wants to cry again. "The currency, you might say, has become devalued," Eric Lipton discovered it was all about her: "I have been misled by both genders as self-motivated, narcissistic, self-less words for women who try to change the status quo."

Of course there was a debate over the test's authenticity. Dave Barry wrote the only such article of humor about it. "Why was no sample made available to the media for testing?"

The campaign's next chapters are uncertainly close, so we'll venture no prediction here, not any particular preference. But can we pause to cheer, once again, the future-of-all-deers, candidate-does-not-rebo candidate politics?



Candidates are people, despite their helpers' best efforts to suck all the life out of them

electorate's top issues are eternal, sophisticated and doored. Politics remains a human business. Faith, fragility and intensive—the electorate's, but also the politicians'—are eternal and, over the long run, decisive.

This is not the same as saying the good guy always wins. People will disagree about who the good guy even is. (Complaints of loss always mean: "Why don't you share my Mac?") It simply states the essence of the democratic franchise is neither bloodless nor heroic, neither a cold expression of rational calculation on one hand nor the thoughtless wandering of the herd on the other. It's in between, in the human zone

where head and heart do the best they can. Hard so it may be to believe, that's where most politicians live too.

Or at least the successful ones. These days that's always a solo candidate or two on the losers' circle. Two years ago the *American* political reporter Joe Minicore wrote a book called *John's Lost*, in which he lamented the decline of his country's politics from Bobby Kennedy to John Kerry. Minicore's chosen villains were the "Pollster-Consultant Industrial Complex," the high-paid focus group engineers who methodically strip a candidate of charm, risk, fluidity or insight. All that's left is a wallowing compilation of the latest polling data. Minicore denounces considerable space to Ted Demme, Bob Shrum and Mike Donilon, the team behind Al Gore and John Kerry, the 2000 and 2004 Democratic candidates.

But surely the interesting thing about Gore and Kerry is that they lost. Given the mess up that the Supreme Court decided in favor of Gore's 2000 opponent should never have happened if the candidate's helpers were as clever as they thought. He looked honest, honest by soul experience, everywhere he went. It would have been better to let him stay where he thought. Nobler at least, and probably more effective. The same can be said for the best recent Canadian example of a candidate who thought he could outmaneuver his opponent to the finest detail and was available, Paul Martin. His helpers didn't practice his strategy in the company

of his own head from June 2002 to January 2006. It should have lasted.

Stephen Harper spends more on polls than Martin ever did, but it doesn't make much to do with either his success or his loss. Whether you like Harper's swagger or hate it, find him inspiring or sorry, there's a gracelessness to him. That's why the emotions he evokes aren't fierce. Manufactured candidates can't make anyone care either way. Which is where Hillary Clinton was and her chief cracked. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Paul Wells, visit his blog at www.micromerits.com/author/pwells

hydraSense®

unlock

your nose

hydraSense®
CONGESTION
RELIEF

hydraSense® Congestion Relief is a decongestant composed of 100% hypertonic natural-source sea water. It relieves nasal and sinus congestion caused by colds, sinusitis and allergies by clearing nasal cavities and helping in the removal of mucus-trapped infectious agents and allergens, thereby helping to protect against infections. Non-habit forming, this natural-source decongestant may be used as often as needed. hydraSense® Congestion Relief. The natural-source choice to open your nose.

www.hydrasense.com

Always read and follow the label. hydraSense® is registered by International Science, L.P. and used under license by Solving People's Problems, Inc.

Hypertonic Congestion Relief

hydraSense®
It works
RELIEF

Nasal & Sinus
Decongestant



'Arafat almost seemed childlike. "Don't be deceived," my husband said, "he could order the death of someone in a minute."'

AMERICAN DEBORAH KANAFANI TALKS TO KATE FILLION ABOUT MARRYING

A PLO LEADER, DIVORCING HIM—AND HOW SHE GOT HER KIDS BACK

New Yorker Deborah Kanafani was 26 when she met Marwan Kanafani, a Palestinian and former sector chief turned New York director of the Arab League. He became Yasser Arafat's senior advisor and spokesman; she became an unlikely survivor, as the accounts in *Unsettled: A Woman's Journey Through Palestine, Love, and Obedience*.

Q Did you always see yourself as Arab-American?
A: When I was 15 or 16, I remember going through customs on my first flight. They asked me my nationality. I said, "American." They must have been born to Lebanon and this caused me to be detained for about an hour until they reached my father to confirm that I really was born in America. I was always told I was Lebanese, so that was what I identified with. I was proud of my heritage. But after 9/11 I felt myself sometimes throwing in that I'm Christian. Most Americans think, "Oh, Lebanese, that means Arab, Muslim."

Q Was there an expectation when you were growing up that you would marry an Arab?
A: Certainly not on my mother's part. She didn't like Arab men.

Q Why not?
A: [Laughs] Because she had been married to one. My father expected her to be subservient—not that she's particularly liberal, but her life is her home and her children—but there were a lot of demands to do whatever he

wanted whenever he wanted. [The court home at 2 a.m. and waked breakfast, she was expected to get up and make it. Her second husband isn't like that at all.]

Q Why were you attracted to Marwan Kanafani?
A: I didn't even really think I saw the man, the person. I was attracted to his charisma, and he was very handsome, very charming, very European in style, and very, very smart. He was smart, he was very political.

Q He had a pretty traditional view of marriage.
A: All right for the time. I grew up in a traditional sort of woman. He was very culturally educated and believed that women's main purpose was to serve their families and husbands in the Arab world, the whole reputation of a family rests on the woman's virtue. He didn't like the idea of her having an independent life, so going to work was not with his friends. I was naive. I thought, "Oh, that man is really in love with me, he wants me with him every minute."

Q How married to Washington together had after you had had, he spent more and more time in the Middle East, eventually becoming Yasser Arafat's top aide. What was a good month?
A: Yes, I think so. Marwan was very, very pro-peace and pro-negotiating, and I think he was instrumental in getting Arafat out of the table

[in 1993]. There were other factors, of course, but Marwan's influence was significant.

Q What was your impression of Arafat?
A: My own experience was that he was very kind, he loved children, he was very warm toward me, but I would watch him juggle a constant flow of people, of positions, of decisions—I couldn't believe how much he had to balance, and he had this art of keeping people pleased. He almost seemed childlike.

Q I remember that your husband once said, "Don't be deceived by this man, he could order the death of someone in a minute."
A: In 1995, you asked for a divorce. Why?
A: It was a buildup of feeling traditional all the time, as though my marriage wasn't my own and I didn't exist.

Q When you first your son and daughter to the West Bank to visit their mother, they were 10 and 12. Was it your place that he'd come to see custody?
A: No, not at all. I asked Marwan if he could stand money to the children could go to school in the U.S., and he said he couldn't afford it, and I had no way to support them in the U.S. Eventually I decided maybe it would be best if I moved to the West Bank and get a house for me and the kids; it would be a lot less expensive to live and Marwan would be there to help us and the children could continue to see him. This was 1995, after the peace signing, business was going into the West Bank, people were moving back and building villages, it was prosperous and there was hope. I thought I was

setting off on a new life as a woman.
Q But when you got to Ramallah, it wouldn't have felt normal.
A: I thought this was something I could only argue about and win, but I saw he was very serious about not letting them see me. He wanted to show me he had control over the children, control over my life, and I was powerless. I think he was trying to make it as difficult as possible to let me live.

Q Why was he so possessive?
A: I watched the divorce. I didn't realize how humiliating that is for an Arab man.

Q But he'd been divorced once before.
A: Yes, and I think he was still angry about that. I didn't realize and I lived in the West Bank that women aren't even allowed to do what their husbands only

the men are allowed to do, like a divorce. In some Middle Eastern countries there's violent reform, where if you show you're beaten you can go to the front of a court, but you have to have irrefutable evidence, it's almost never done.

Q Why couldn't you get your kids back?
A: I had no power in the Middle East. First of all, no financial power.

Q And power was Arafat's temple, land money as well as a matter of parliament.
A: Furthermore, Islamic law gives the man custody of the children after boys are seven and girls are nine. One of the reasons it was difficult to get my kids back was that the law would favor a girl live in the same house with a man who's not related to her.

Q Right, why didn't you just give up and go home?
A: I still saw myself as the primary caregiver.

Q And in fact Marwan was taking his kids after them on a day-to-day basis.
A: I was able to work my way into his life because of that. I think there was a real conflict here: he didn't want me there, but he needed me there. In the very beginning, the house I moved in was another cousin in the West Bank, and it would take close to two hours each way to my kids; there were multiple checkpoints, and I had to do the trip on public transportation, drive late mornings that were often dirty and over crowded and hot, so an accommodation. None of them could go straight through for the whole journey, you had to change at every checkpoint. I did that almost every day. Fortunately, when I got a job as a TV station, I was able to move closer to the children.

Q Still, frequent flights to see your kids, but you still had to travel with your infant son and daughter through Marwan, Arafat's wife, Salwa Arafat, and Queen Dina

of Jordan, King Hassan's first wife. It must have felt normal.
A: That's a good way to describe the experience. The whole environment was theatrical, almost like being on stage, even in L.A. there were army people with machine guns and these religious figures with their containers and shepherds keeping sheep—it's really a completely different world, and it took a while for it to set in that this was real.

Q Having read, reading your book has many high-ranking women but had a similar experience of being forcibly separated from their children.
A: Islamic courts are very strict, and there are no variables. If you even try to challenge the court, there is more risk, because they will defend you, perform a character assassination to prove you are a bad woman.

Q Even the powerful women married to relatively enlightened men sound oppressed by Western standards.
A: They have a whole culture to battle against, not just one man. In Mrs. Arafat's case, her husband didn't really try to stop her from doing what she wanted to do, but she was around him, was always fighting her. They viewed her as one of those who had her own opinions, she was very smart, she never held back. They were disappointed. They were all competing for his attention, and they created the fact that she had his ear.

Q How did you get your kids back?
A: They were evacuated into Jordan in 2000 while the uprising was occurring, and I decided there to be sent to the U.S. Marwan absolutely refused. I thought it was a shock for him, he'd worked all these years, so hard, for peace, then in moments the whole thing was crumbling. He didn't want to believe it was really happening. Then Arafat said, "You have to come back here, it's not a war going on, you're a leader!" Marwan couldn't get the children back into the West Bank, they had to be secretly flown, so they had to go up in Jordan with his son [now 20] with I kept asking and begging her to send them to the U.S., and in the end she was moved about Marwan's reason, but what helped them only was that he was getting anxious to leave also he had bloodstains and blue eyes, and there was hostility toward foreigners and the U.S. Embassy had closed. She helped arrange passports for my children and they got on the last plane to leave for the U.S. before the airport was closed. Marwan did not know.

Q They were 15 and 13 when they came back to the U.S. Was your relationship with them damaged in any irreparable way?
A: I think the damage was minimal, and that's where my power was, in not getting into a war with Marwan in front of my child

hood, so they would feel safe. I wanted them to feel we were unified, so I always kept up a front.

Q How on earth did you do that?
A: What motivated me was my own parents' divorce. Until we were 18, my brother and I spent our lives in court, between two parents fighting for custody, having this horrible war. Growing up like that helps me be strong when it came to my own children. I just wanted them to feel they had two parents who really loved them. "What if they do?" He's provided for them, he's very hands-on. When they came back to the U.S., he'd call from the Gaza Strip and spend an hour on the phone helping my daughter with her homework.

Q I kept calling his new wife, begging her to send the children. She helped and they got on the last plane.'

my homework. I got upset when I see parents sending children in the middle, it just seems so dehumanizing that you don't do that.

Q How do you think he'll react to your book?
A: I'm a little nervous, mostly because I don't want my children feeling I offended their father. They're very close to him. Interestingly, Marwan just published his new book in Arabic, about his years with Arafat. My publisher is intrigued and said if I'd missed if they did a translation. I said "Of course not." I don't bear him a grudge. ■



SECRET U.S. FILES REVEALED



EXCLUSIVE

In 1988, the Americans accused the Mulroney government of rigging the Airbus deal. Here's what they had.
BY JONATHAN GATEHOUSE

A secret U.S. dossier on the Airbus affair, shared with high-ranking members of Brian Mulroney's government, alleged that the then prime minister directly intervened in Air Canada's 1988 decision to purchase the planes, as his political friends pocketed commissions and his Progressive Conservative party gave him donations from Karlheinz Schreiber and campaign funds connected to the deal. The seven-page report, recently released by Mulroney's, was prepared as the product of inquiries by the FBI and other American agencies. Passed on by the U.S. ambassador on the eve of the November 1988 election, it traces the roots of the Airbus deal back to 1979, and paints a picture of a wide-ranging conspiracy that saw Conservative lobbyists, cabinet ministers, senior government advisers, businessmen and Air Canada management collude to ensure the European aircraft consortium got a foothold as the North American market. But its most explosive allegation is that the decision to purchase Airbus planes was political one, made at the highest level of the Mulroney government. "The decision to go was made in Ottawa, not at Air Canada. Ottawa decided to take the risk on the political, GUTT [sic] [sic] Free Trade follows," says the report. "The favour owed Frank Morris, the Quebec job, the dollars involved [campaign funds, commissions] was one."

The U.S. version of events is disputed by former Air Canada executives and members of the board, and categorically denied by the former prime minister. "Nothing in those allegations presents anything new, including the complaints from American sources," Mulroney's spokeswoman Robin Bates said in a written response. The statement did not address the specific allegations made in the document, nor did it respond to questions that Mulroney's submitted to Mulroney's. So, however, did

note that police have examined such accusations in the past, and have found the file "On April 23, 2004, after an extensive investigation in Canada and abroad, the RCMP concluded that the allegations of wrongdoing involving Airbus could not be substantiated and no charges would be laid. The case was closed. This was confirmed by David Johnston last week," wrote Sean.

The typed, single-spaced report, entitled "Canada Air/Busair Strategic Objective," was brought to the attention of Derek Bursey, Mulroney's chief of staff, by then U.S. ambassador Tom Niles at some point in the fall of 1988. It's unclear what, if any, action was taken by Bursey (in an email to Mulroney, the former adviser, now a member of the non-partisan panel studying Canada's Afghan mission, says he does not remember seeing the allegations from Niles, but "would have most likely" referred it to the Privy Council Office) just a week before the May 21 "Free Trade" election. Niles again reached out to the Mulroney government, submitting a letter and to former minister Michael Wilson to the embassy. Don McCutchan, now a Toronto-based international business consultant, confirms that the document obtained by Mulroney, which bears no identifying marks, is the same one he was shown in 1988, and summarized in a two-page memo he presented to Wilson just prior to an Ottawa campaign rally that Nov. 14. "It was a true warning," says McCutchan. "Ambassador Niles made it very clear that he was raising important information. It was unambiguous that the U.S. government took this matter very seriously."

After Wilson read the summary of the American allegations, McCutchan recalls the minister using his car phone to contact Bursey to discuss the matter. Bursey says he has no recollection of any specific conversation about the U.S. dossier. Wilson has previously confirmed that Niles brought serious, unexpected suspicions to his attention, but he did nothing with the information. Now the Canadian ambassador in Washington, Wilson declined an interview request. So did Niles, who is now retired and living outside New York City.

Twenty years later, however, with the Airbus deal again in the headlines, and with a public inquiry into Brian Mulroney's post-1992 dealings with Karlheinz Schreiber pending, there is much in the dossier that commands attention. "What may have started in 1979 was an uncoordinated campaign using the highest levels of the government of France to influence the top levels of [Prime Trudeau's] Canadian government has now progressed, successfully, to Canadians working on behalf of the Airbus partners with the highest lev-

els of the Canadian government," the dossier begins. "Money and a political strategy make for a formidable combination."

Chronologically ordered, the report provides plenty of Airbus/prime efforts to penetrate the Canadian market, but regards the business climate changed drastically after Mulroney's landslide 1984 election victory. It notes that the Conservatives' first prime minister, Don Mazankowski, was a close friend and former associate of Frank Morris, and lays out the other friendships and family links that made the former Newfoundland premier's Government Consultants International (GCI) such a formidable lobbying outfit. The document identifies Motorschmidt-Bolkow-Rohde (MBR), the German Airbus



'It is strongly suspected that [Karlheinz Schreiber] has funnelled large sums into Conservative campaign coffers,' the dossier says



Colleagues from top left: Mazankowski and Mulroney, Schreiber, Bursey, Wilson and then U.S. ambassador Tom Niles: allegations of political intrigue stretching all the way to the PMO

partner, as an important GCI client, and suggest the firm got the business largely because of Airbus chief Franz Josef Strauss's Montreal connection. "Karl Heinz [sic] Schreiber, a Strauss first man, became Morris' West German contact," says the document, which predates the first media reports of possible Airbus payoffs by six years. "When in Canada, Schreiber spends his time and someone's money with senior Conservative politicians

and friends. It is strongly suspected that he has funnelled large sums into Conservative campaign coffers."

The U.S. report alleges that in late 1988, Morris and his friends "led the groundwork" for an Airbus Airbus sales strategy, using Canada as the "back door" to the American market. Morris, who died in 2005, negotiated a commission from the manufacturer of five per cent on all Canadian sales, in say,

STAN KALININ/CP

RAY GAGNE/CP; SEAN HALL/CP; DONALD BROWN/CP; SEAN HALL/CP; SEAN HALL/CP; SEAN HALL/CP

KEY MEMBERS OF Mulroney's team were seen as U.S. opponents, but they never went public



FORMER FINANCE MINISTER Marc Lalonde denies any role in the sale of Airbus.

The dossier alleges that Frank Moores helped Airbus use Canada as a 'back door' into the U.S. market, in exchange for commissions on the sale of jets



claimed that he played a key role in that deal, calling it his "Dragon Horse" strategy to gain Airbus access to the American market. Based at his Toronto home the week, Ward denied those versions of the deal, saying no one in or out of government influenced his decision. "We went over and looked at the airplane and went 'my word,'" he said, adding the allegations about the Prime Minister's "involvement." He expressed frustration that his name was again being mixed in connection with the Airbus scandal, and noted that he never even met Moore or Schreiber when he was Prime Minister.

A source close to the U.S. dossier is that the Mulroney government tilted the playing field towards the Airbus bid because of the contractor's plans to funnel parts work for French production vendors to Bombardier-owned Canadian plants in Quebec. By 1987, the Tory hierarchy was concerned that "Quebecers" were the contractors for another federal election victory, says the document, and went to great lengths to ensure that the plan to manufacture would take place. That's

why, the Americans alleged, when Air Canada wanted plans to buy Airbus A300s, a long-haul plane, the firm decided to a smaller Airbus product, the A310. Air Canada executives who focused competing manufacturers were moved to other jobs after the airline. And the company's five-year strategic plan was abruptly redrawn to make the priority the replacement of its Boeing 747s, transatlantic airliners that had been scheduled to retire from service until the mid 1990s, instead of its aging fleet of DC-76.

But once such jobs for contractors "others" were illegal under GATT, the Mulroney government needed to tread carefully. With the five made just hanging in the balance, the Tories moved gingerly to avoid sparking a dispute, the Americans alleged. First, in early March 1988, Don Mazankowski, then the minister in charge of Air Canada's pending privatization, and John Crook, the transport minister, changed the agenda of an Air Canada board meeting, postponing a final decision on new aircraft and "allowing time for the Prime Minister to review the merits of an Air Canada decision."

(Air Canada's \$1.1 billion purchase of 14 Airbus planes was officially announced in July 1988. The \$400-million parts supply contract was made public on Nov. 15, 1988, less than a week before the federal election, eight around the time ambassador Niles made his last-ditch approach to Michael Wilson.)

The U.S. dossier concludes with what purports to be an inside account of the March 30, 1988, Air Canada board meeting where the Airbus purchase received final approval. It describes "amongst other Airbus officials" among some board members, and suggests that the name of improper lobbying was raised with Claude Taylor, then president and then chair of Air Canada. When concerns were expressed about the potential U.S. reaction to an Airbus deal, the document alleges pre-emptive attempts to hold off the "phone calls" were made to Mazankowski and Mulroney.

The U.S. government's account of the board meeting appears to be at odds with the former prime minister's repeated assertions that he had nothing to do with the Airbus decision. "I neither directly nor indirectly at any time influenced Air Canada," Mulroney said during his campaign for his 1990 bid to succeed the federal government. "It was exclusively an internal decision by Air Canada, the government had no influence on it whatsoever." In his written answers to Mulroney's then MP, Mulroney's spokesman, Robin Sloan, reiterated that position. "It should be noted that as a matter of public record Air Canada has said that there was no interference with its board or directors or its management in arriving at its decision to

purchase Airbus." Mazankowski did not respond to numerous phone and email messages requesting an interview. But in 1985, he told the Toronto Star that he and Mulroney "never had any conversation" regarding the Airbus purchase. "The one thing I now know for certain is that the business of the government of the day attempting to influence Air Canada to choose Airbus over Boeing is just not true," Mazankowski told the paper. "The decision was made by the people running Air Canada at the time."

And discrepancies of the meeting where the final Airbus decision was taken, provided to Mulroney by former board members, those disclosed under the U.S. version of the story. "As I recall there were very well-informed questions for the staff," says Gayle Chertoff, a former York mayor and long-time Tory activist. "Everyone knew it was an important decision for Air Canada, and we had all done our homework." James Macaulay, a Vancouver lawyer, says he dated Mulroney's direct being exposed. "My recollection is that the decision was pretty much unanimous," he says. Nor were trade unioners asked. "I do remember somebody bringing that up," Macaulay says.

Nevertheless, none of those who were around the table in number phone calls being made to Mulroney or Mazankowski. Taylor says Ottawa was deliberately kept out of the loop. "We never talked to them at any time, even when the government was the major stake holder." The Airbus decision was "clear-cut," says Taylor, because Boeing and the other competitors had "nothing that could touch" its technology. (Schreiber recently testified before the Commons ethics committee that he and Taylor "met often" but never discussed Airbus. That is neither right, says Taylor. "I never met Frank Schreiber. I never shook his hand. He has said people that he visited my office, but he never did.")

Prime Minister, then Air Canada CEO, says he met regularly with the minister at transport, but can't recall what occurred about the Airbus decision. (A cabinet shuffle happened while the board met on March 30 by day's end Mulroney's Board had replaced John Crook as minister.) Board members had access to offices and phones, notes Jean Scott, so it is possible that someone asked Ottawa's guidance, however, he is certain it would have. "I would have imagined if someone was going to make one to me," he says. The former CEO also disavowed the other American allegations about the Airbus decision. Senior executives were involved not because they favoured competitors, but because he was looking for a successor and wanted to test their muscle. And the decision



Mulroney's response: 'The RCMP concluded the allegations of wrongdoing could not be substantiated. The case was closed'



THE DOSSIER ALLEGES THAT FRED DOUGLAS, 1980 Mulroney's Press Chief at the time, was part of the "back door" that planned Airbus's sale strategy.

to replace the newer phone first was done in his belief because the press engaged 727 had become too expensive to operate and maintain. At the same time, McDougall Douglas was offering a relatively cheap \$5 million per plane — against the world record bid of the DC-10 by 10 to 15 years, he says. "It was an easy decision. It saved a lot of money." While some of the information in the U.S. dossier, like its recounting of the myriad of links between GCI, senior Tories, and members of the Mulroney government, Air Canada board, are proven fact, many of its more spectacular allegations about the Ottawa senior rail, or a broken telephone. For example, the document suggests that Marc Lalonde, the former Liberal finance minister, was until the beginning of 1989 on a part-time basis as a board and former chair — in early December he posted \$100,000 of the Greater Canadian bank's \$10 million bid — denies that he ever had any business relationship

with Moore or his firm. "That's absolutely false," says Lalonde. "It's good that you called this case yourself closed."

The U.S. allegations about Airbus mostly ending up in Progressive Conservative campaign offices are similarly unproven. Since David Angus, the party's chief fundraiser from 1983 to 91, and a former Air Canada board member, did not respond to multiple phone and email messages, Mulroney's spokesman did not specifically respond to the American allegations about Mulroney's donations to Air Canada-related campaign funds. In his testimony before the House of Commons ethics committee, Schreiber has acknowledged that he financially supported Mulroney's efforts to win the Joe Clark party leader in 1981. "The money came from myself and from the Strauss family and probably from the [Julius W. Strauss] [Christine Strauss] family," he noted. He also claimed to have donated \$30,000 in cash to Jean Charest's 1995 campaign for the party leadership.



WHO KILLED BHUTTO?

The Musharraf government's ability to answer that question may determine its future

BY ADNAN R. KHAN

I could, readily, be called a strike of genius in the midst of thousands of supporters at a rally in a large public park, **Benazir Bhutto** the most popular leader in Pakistan and then **blatantly** was up to ease the evidence. No one takes responsibility, spawning chaos and conspiracy theories that have paralyzed Pakistan's courts ever since.

So many questions still remain unanswered in what Pakistan, and the world at large, is calling the worst political assassination in this 60-year-old nation's turbulent history—one already littered with mass murders and politically motivated killings. The murder of former Bhutto Dec. 27, allegedly by Islamic militants, is the least of which Pakistan's many problems have come: narcotics, terrorism, corruption and nepotism, religious extremism and democracy—the challenges Pakistan faces are as complex as the conspiracy theories circling around Bhutto's grave. From the mystery surrounding the cause of death to the debate over who was behind it, in the bubbling cauldron of accusations and counter-accusations Pakistan is being forced to face its own demons.

Is it up to the task?

That question looms daily over President Pervez Musharraf, flailing on how clearly and decisively he can clear up the mess surrounding Bhutto's murder and bring those responsible to justice. "This investigation is the new benchmark for Musharraf," says **Geert Ruyt**, a Pakistani journalist and member of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), of which Bhutto was chairwoman, even during her eight years in self-imposed exile due to corruption charges that continued to dog her up until her death. "If he is seen to be covering up for certain elements of the army or intelligence services, then he is finished. If it's shown that the security apparatus failed in preventing another militant attack, then he is also finished."

Either way, Musharraf finds himself in the worst of positions in his nine-year reign, and suspects that those who may have been official colluders in Bhutto's assassination. His government has been accused of failing to provide adequate security for Bhutto even after her Dec. 16 homecoming parade was hit by suicide bombers who killed at least 193 of her supporters. And then there is the hanging that took place following her killing. In the government flip-flopped over the way she died, first saying it was due to a bullet wound, and then an artillery head injury from a letter attached to the neck of her car. Musharraf remained steadfast in his story, even as accusations of a cover-up surfaced, after it was revealed that poison was delivered at the scene of the explosion could

have been destroyed when police washed the site clean within hours of the attack. Musharraf was nowhere to be seen—adding to people's sense that maybe he had something to hide. "If you place all of the facts in juxtaposition," says Forthuisht Seher, a spokesman for the PPP, "you'll see that the various theories given rise to a tremendous amount of suspicion."

Those theories have more than enough fuelwood to kindle on. The hasty cleanup of the crime scene is only one in a string of oddities. Another is the instant report signed by the doctors who worked on Bhutto in the emergency room at the Rawalpindi General Hospital, which has been called fraudulent by some PPP members, a claim officials vehemently deny. "It's an irresponsible thing to say," says Dr. Azeem Haseed, chief of surgery at the hospital and one of the authors of the report. "It will blow up in their faces." The PPP has stiffly backed away from accus-

ations upward. Reporters there would have to be a bullet lodged somewhere in the head, or an exit wound in the head. The chances are very slim, in his opinion, that a bullet traveling at that angle would ricochet off the wall and end up somewhere else—in the neck, for example. Nonetheless, initial reports claimed that Bhutto was shot in the neck, a claim that mysteriously vanished later in the investigation. Unlikely as Royan says it is, could that have been the exit wound? "Why then isn't there an examination of the neck in the report?" Royan asks. "I can't say it's a fabrication, but it is certainly suspicious."

The "surreal" fever theory has little merit, according to Royan—the nature of the head injury does not indicate a blunt impact. Why, then, dropped from the bench blunt, though unlikely, is possible. "I've never seen a wound from a blunt force," he says. "But still, you would expect to see an exit wound or the presence of a

Martens, a 37-year-old PPP activist recovering from the blast at Rawalpindi General Hospital. "There were walls through metal detectors at all of the entrances. We were all checked before we went in." Other survivors verify Musharraf's account, adding that the strikers were probably nervous the pack proper. Instead, they were likely waiting at the gate from which Bhutto's car exited—snatched and loaded for an opportunity to strike. "There was a rush of people when the car came out," says Martens. "No one tried to stop them. That's what [Bhutto] missed up at the sanctorium. That I heard the shot."

Many Pakistanis are now asking what that crowd outside of the pack came from—and why it was allowed to reach the car. Adding to suspicion of foul play is a statement from the police officer in charge of security that

causally different reason is charged there days after the tragedy's post life. In one report, a PPP member was quoted in an Indian news paper alleging that a high-class laser weapon had killed his leader. Another unnamed PPP politician, perhaps trying to blow Bhutto's assassination to John F. Kennedy's, said there were two theories circulating—a Pakistan version of the Grassy Field theory. "I heard two different types of shots," he told Macdonald, claiming to be a close friend of Bhutto's but requesting anonymity. The fact that he was in the process of driving away a truck with the cops in the shorter final may have affected his hearing. Witnesses close to the attack who are recovering in hospital beds all say they heard one sound—two or three bursts from a pistol in quick succession and then the blast.

Speculation about later fire and gunpowder, the leading theories to support theories in contention the involvement of Islamic militants. No one doubts that Queda and the Taliban have the most to gain from destabilizing Pakistan. "Our first suspect is al Qaeda," says a senior official of the Pakistani intelligence service based in Austin, Texas, in a Jan. 3 analysis of Bhutto's assassination, "who would benefit from the confusion generated by the killing of an important political leader."

These will be difficult questions to answer after so much of the crime scene, including Bhutto's SUV, has been wiped clean. On Jan. 6, at Musharraf's request, special Scotland Yard men arrived in Pakistan, in part to help deal with those difficulties, as Macdonald acknowledged during his press conference. "What we need is forensic expertise, more forensic expertise, which maybe we don't have," he conceded. "But we are very conscious of our sensitivities." Those "sensitivities" relate specifically to any probe into his or the government and military's potential involvement in the assassination. That the Pakistani president said, without being asked, in fact, Scotland Yard's mandate to investigate does not even include determining the perpetrators, reinforcing the PPP's claim that the foreign investigators are representing their

own's remains, adding to speculation that the PPP wants to minimize some level of uncertainty to keep the conspiracy theories of government involvement alive. But Musharraf has flatly rejected any UN-led investigation, telling France's *Le Figaro* newspaper that Pakistan has its own institutions to deal with the investigation, with help from the Scotland Yard team.

But, says a PPP's Babar, "Scotland Yard is being guided by the Pakistani authorities. We believe that they cannot be free agents." This sentiment, however unlikely, is echoed by many Pakistanis who have lost trust in Musharraf and the government nonetheless. Still, answering the "how" of Bhutto's killing may not matter how much that possibility might now be enough to overturn that mistrust, even as polls show nearly 50 percent of people believe the government was somehow involved in the absence of solid evidence linking al Qaeda or Taliban militants to the killing, the possibility of cohesively ignoring "whodunnit" seems remote.

But looking at the "why" behind Bhutto's

BHUTTO'S SUPPORTERS up the Scotland Yard investigation, guided by the Pakistani authorities, may be compromised



WAS THIS MAN—pictured in red and widely thought to be the Bhutto's killer—escorted by a militant organization helping to blow up the chaos resulting from Bhutto's death?

case of Bhutto, saying instead that its lawyers are currently "examining their options."

Nonetheless, doctors in France who examined the report on behalf of Macdonald are perplexed. The report, they claim, is not reliable. The way the wounds to the head described is incompatible with a bullet, says Dr. Vincent Royan, an emergency room doctor in Paris with extensive experience dealing with bullet wounds, referring to the same injury above Bhutto's right ear as Pakistan's Interior Ministry claims was caused by a violent impact with a sword's hilt. "But where is the bullet? I've never seen a situation like this before; where a bullet wound is described but there is no bullet showing up in X-rays, and no exit wound." Based on video evidence showing the shooter pointing the gun away 10 or 40



feet, a body laid flat on the ground. The absence of both makes this report highly suspect.

With Musharraf now admitting on Jan. 12 that a bullet was a possible cause of death, the report's omission seems that much more damning. Add to this speculation that the country's security forces were somehow manipulated to allow the strikers to converge to carry out the attack, and the picture is in a tight spot indeed.



they recovering from his wounds to hospital, Mirza Hassan Shah described the crowd as "appearing out of nowhere," shouting PPP slogans. "I don't know who they were or from where they came," he said in an interview with Pakistan's Dawn newspaper. It was so quiet this crowd that Bhutto made the final mistake

of emerging from the sanctorium of his blue SUV, offering himself as a target. Shah also said that dynamite as one of the attack suddenly sent down near the end of the rally, shattering metal doors. Representatives at the power-distribution station responsible for electricity in that district of Rawalpindi, however, deny that claim.

Clearing an overbearing crowd away from a crowd of onlookers will seldom, and a possible power outage at a time when Pakistan's fragile electricity grid is under pressure of a worsening energy crisis, may seem a bit of a stretch. But the atmosphere in this por-

WAS THERE OFFICIAL COLLUSION? A HASTY CLEANUP OF THE CRIME SCENE IS JUST ONE OF THE ODDITIES.

As Musharraf pointed out in his first press conference after the assassination (July 6 week later), trying to rule allegations that authorities were somehow complicit in that to death. "The security agencies of Pakistan do not indoctrinate anyone," but military organizations, which Pakistan has a habit of shoring up, along with at least 60 PPP supporters, was almost certainly involved from one of these outfits. Who involved them? And what of the shooter, the clean-cut young man who, based on video and eyewitness evidence, allegedly fired the final shot, hitting Bhutto in the ear just as he fought off "who was his backer?"

As some are speculating, were the shooter and bomber one and the same person?

ing more than an evasive attempt to add a veneer of credibility to the investigation.

With evidence missing, and the only available medical report questionable at best, a decisive cause of death will be difficult in the absence of a full autopsy. That would require exhuming the body, something both Yusuf, the surgeon at Rawalpindi General, and Musharraf have called for. But the Bhutto family, given their husband, is not allowing it. "If investigators request an autopsy," says Babar, the PPP's spokesman, "we will consider it." The stalling point, however, appears to be who the "investigator" are for the PPP, the only credible investigation can be carried out by the United Nations. In the absence of a UN team, the party will likely not allow anyone to dig up its beloved lead-

ing could provide some clue as to who carried it out. As with much the surrounding her demise, this is a matter of debate, although most analysts and observers agree that Musharraf was likely not involved. Considering Bhutto's own moderate outlook, and, against, off again days with him, he had very little to gain from having his only real political rival—and potentially ally—killed. With the negative fallout from the state of emergency he declared on Nov. 3 still stirring his future, Bhutto represented the only legal means to return to Musharraf's continued rule. Despite Bhutto's public vow never to support Musharraf after he called the emergency, behind closed doors there was still hope for a Bhutto-Musharraf alliance. Following the elections due were scheduled for Jan. 8 (day



have been postponed until Feb. 18).

However, there is speculation that Musharraf had one thing to gain from dismissing Bhutto: the demise of the PPP. "Pakistan works differently in Pakistan," says Bage, the PPP narrator. "When you have over 90 per cent literacy in the country, you can't expect people to have political consciousness. Thirty per cent of the way people vote in elections depends on the local candidate, 70 per cent on the party's leader." Killing the leader, following one line of logic, could kill the party. But sympathy for Bhutto and the anger arising from the perception that Musharraf was somehow involved in the assassination have damaged the standing of the PML-Q, the party backing the president; in fact, banking on the sympathy vote, PPP leaders were

from the PPP's opponents, has fueled fear speculation that the party would be interested in democracy as a chance to be. And Zardari's reinstatement over allowing to her ally also plays into the hands of the PPP's critics, who question whether the party can be genuinely interested in exposing the full crime even as it refuses to counterbalance such a crucial investigative move.

Ultimately, though, the chaos and uncertainty surrounding these militants must be the deterioration of Pakistan's filtering, democratic process. Supporters of the al-Qaeda/Taliban theory point to this in the strongest evidence of a militant plot to kill Bhutto. Extremist leaders had regularly threatened her life. Still, shortly after the assassination, a spokesperson for Bin Laden's network, the

security is the highest it's been for decades after a string of suicide bombings over the past year.

"Bhutto traveled from Karachi to the Khyber Pak and no one attacked her," points out Raza Ali, a PPP supporter paying his respects at the site of her murder. "Why did they attack her here? Where there was real danger, when the Taliban was a real threat, there was no attack." In fact, Bhutto's Dec. 3 visit to Peshawar, capital of the NWFP, gave way to the historic Khyber Pak and gave support to the tribal lands where Taliban and al-Qaeda inspired militancy is firmly rooted, was hailed as a political coup among moderates. She had awarded the 'honorary' and emerged unscathed, even strengthened, some analysts argued.

PROTESTERS HAVE CALLED for a UN investigation into the death, Bhutto's husband and son (right) won't allow her body to be exhumed without it.



One possibility is that the militant leaders preferred to see the seeds of chaos and deny the democratic process by striking at the political arena, then allowing the military to avoid the accusations to end in mainstream politics. Attacking her on their home turf would have made the question of culpability seem obvious. If that's the case, the strategy seems to be working. Fear and uncertainty now grip many parts of the country. The room that followed the killing, especially on the southern Sindh province, Bhutto's ancestral home, have shaken Pakistanis, even in the urban accustomed to violence. In a sign of the far-going tensions, chaos erupted in some major cities in Sindh after a minister circulated about the assassination of two more major political leaders. The riotous ground floor but it was people raising banners, clanging streets with traffic. Some owners shut their shops for fear of more rioting; others markets were emptied.

The mounting growing Pakistanis—fear of suicide bombers, fear of riots—has prompted election campaigning and this has come to down the entire electoral process, something militants have been eager to do. It has also damaged the only real power broker in the country—the army—as that operation against militants in the Tribal Areas and in the north-

ern Swat Valley, which has had some success lately, may have to be wound back. Musharraf has promised to deploy troops through out the country in the lead-up to the elections, and maintain the deployment for as long as needed period of time after the vote has been held. Those soldiers will have to come from somewhere.

But in Pakistan, according to a former spy or straightforward Bhutto, during her second term as prime minister from 1993 to 1996, was one of the toughest most generous persons in a secret interview, she was asked if she knew how much money she had funneled to the militant group, which assassinated Pakistani leaders, including herself. I had heard and not moved, especially during the upheavals in Afghanistan. Her response: she didn't know—it was a black check, though in typical Bhutto style she blamed the powerful arms-services intelligence, Pakistan's spy agency, of past strong support out of her.

Her recent shift toward a policy of confrontation with Taliban and al-Qaeda militants was tactical and in many ways inevitable. While she was PM, the Taliban were viewed as a political poison in the power politics of the region, a counterforce to Afghanistan's Northern Alliance, which had close ties to India, Pakistan's long-time nemesis. Since Sept. 11, though, the Taliban has morphed into a monster that has begun to threaten most of the world—Pakistan included, from across Bhutto's moderate, democratic vision. And so she, like Musharraf, cut her ties with them. But as with Musharraf, this made her a lot of enemies, not only among militants, but in part of the establishment as well, especially pockets of the ISI who still consider the Taliban a strategic ally and maintain a close relationship with them.

Support for the militants also presents the Pakistan military—part of a larger disconnect on the ground forces, according to Zardari's spokesman, that threatens to trap the army. "The Pakistan army was—and is—not completely misled and motivated," he writes in the *Strategic Outlook*. "Not only is it divided, one of its major divisions lies between Taliban supporters sympathetic to al-Qaeda and a more good-bad of forces with other competing interests."

If al-Qaeda/Taliban agents in fact carried out the assassinations, and elements in Pakistan's ISI and the military support the current line, then could the authorities have also been involved? As it stands, that is just another element in the complexity of questions that have turned this murder into one of Pakistan's great mysteries. The problem is, agencies feel suspicious and suspicious (even if it is Asif Ali's fear that new tensions will be apart Pakistan). ■



MAR IS CIRCUMPECT, but he admits that Dick Cheney "may be wiser" than the media allow.

ALBERTA'S 'EMBASSY'

Gary Mar, the province's man in D.C., has plans for global diplomacy

BY LISA CH. SARGENT • "I wouldn't put it past me to be developing a foreign policy," snorts Gary Mar, Alberta's new deputy minister in Washington, and the only provincial crown with his own office within the state's Canadian Embassy on Pennsylvania Avenue, a stone's throw from Capitol Hill. No, not yet.

But a controversial diplomatic posting that began three years ago is an effort to promote the interests of Alberta's booming energy industry is quietly being cranked up a notch—with Mar setting his sights beyond energy and even beyond the United States.

A chameleon 65-year-old political protégé of Ralph Klein, Mar held two different portfolios in the Klein cabinet and happened to be the minister of intergovernmental affairs who oversees the unprecedented creation of the province's diplomatic shop here. Now Mar has been hand-picked by Premier Ed Stelmach to serve as the office head, succeeding Murray Smith, and has arrived with a team for use in the Washington post as a springboard to a fledgling global dip-

lomats offensive. "There is no doubt that we should have a focus on Washington—there are leading and senior diplomats from all over the world who are located in Washington and we should also spend some time putting Alberta's message before that audience," Mar told Maclean's in an interview but not an uncommon embassy office. He also wants to see Alberta's strategic diplomatic posts in places like Beijing, Hong Kong and Tokyo, where it already has trade offices. "There may come a day when an

CANADIAN DIPLOMATS WERE APPELLED BY A PROVINCE MEETING WITH FOREIGN OFFICIALS

office like this becomes a reality," he says. When the province moved into the embassy, seven veteran Canadian diplomats were appointed by the apostrophe of a province holding its own meetings with senior officials, one outpacing before Congress. The officials affiliated representatives can contribute not only to traditional diplomatic culture but to the very province of foreign policy and diplomacy as a new federal constitutional responsibility. Sure, other provinces had set up offices in D.C.—Quebec and Manitoba had their own representatives to lobby on certain issues—but their operations were merely Alberta's were anything but. Not only

THE NATURE OF THE HEAD INJURY DOES NOT SUPPORT THE SUNROOF LEVER THEORY, SAYS A TEAM OF FRENCH DOCTORS

debatable elections go on as scheduled. Proposing that vote until Feb. 18 could work in Musharraf's favour, taking the edge off the election's dispute over the killing—and giving time for other factors to come into play. The process of choosing a new leader, for example, has already been the PPP, especially among the educated middle class. Installing Bhutto's 39-year-old son Bhatta as chairman under the stewardship of her husband, Asif Ali Zardari, based on instructions from her will, is increasingly viewed as anemic and contrary to the ideology of a party that claims to stand for democracy. The mystery over the real contents of the will, which has never been made public despite demands

from the PPP's opponents, has fueled fear speculation that the party would be interested in democracy as a chance to be. And Zardari's reinstatement over allowing to her ally also plays into the hands of the PPP's critics, who question whether the party can be genuinely interested in exposing the full crime even as it refuses to counterbalance such a crucial investigative move.

Ultimately, though, the chaos and uncertainty surrounding these militants must be the deterioration of Pakistan's filtering, democratic process. Supporters of the al-Qaeda/Taliban theory point to this in the strongest evidence of a militant plot to kill Bhutto. Extremist leaders had regularly threatened her life. Still, shortly after the assassination, a spokesperson for Bin Laden's network, the

PHOTOGRAPH BY AP/WIDEWORLD; PHOTOGRAPH BY AP/WIDEWORLD

IN THE PATH OF AN ECONOMIC STORM

Chances are Canada won't escape the pain of a U.S. recession

BY JASON KERRY • When high winds whipped past of CIBC's logo from atop a Toronto skyscraper last week and sent it crashing to the ground in the heart of the financial district, news anchors couldn't resist their cynicism. "Wind-whipped bank logo," intoned one headline. "Wind knocked out of Bay Street," wrote another. But if the plummeting debris was at all a portent for where the Canadian economy is headed, you wouldn't know it by looking to this country's professional prognosticators.

Earlier the same day, not far from where pieces of an acrylic letter C came to rest, economists from all five big banks gathered to share their outlook for the year ahead. After reading the tea leaves, their message to Canadians was cautious but reassuring: The coming year won't be great, by any means; the booming job market is expected to ease up, and the country's real GDP growth, which has kept the economy soaring in recent years, will remain earthy at best. But, they asserted, sky slowdowns should be limited. From the U.S., with all its moan, not likely to succumb to an outright recession. And if it does, Canada can still rely on growth in the rest of the world to keep us reasonably healthy. Jeffrey Cooper, chief economist at RBC Capital Markets, noted, echoing a popular theme these days, we are witnessing "a very long-term break away from the hegemony of the U.S. economy and financial system."

It's relatively sunny and hopeful news of late. But it's also an argument that is fast losing favour among some global economists, especially in light of a *severe* barrage of foul economic news.

For nearly two years, quality has preceded about the "decoupling" of the global economy, arguing that the fire of the world no longer burns on the spreading habits of Gary and Louise from Scranton, Pa., but on the retreating middle class of Illinois, China and Louisiana. It sounded good, but now the word on everyone's lips is "decoupling." According to a growing chorus of analysts and asset firms, the U.S. growth machine is simply too important, and its fits is too often centres like Canada's and China's too com-

plex, for the effects of a deep U.S. recession not to be felt the world over. As Norval Hoube, chairman of research firm RBC-McMon and a man well known for his bullish outlook on the American economy, once roared: "Since the U.S. will not just survive, but is making a serious case of promoted and severe protection, the rest of the world should start to worry about a serious viral

long and painful recession. It's a sentiment shared the world over. When the price of gold broke through US\$900 an ounce last week, the U.S. dollar took yet another plunge, gold bugs gleefully declared it was a sign investors have finally arrived to the situation of the post-bubble.

Under the old decoupling theory, of course, none of this was supposed to matter much.



ALBERTA'S OIL REMAINS IN HIGH DEMAND, BUT ONTARIO AUTOMAKERS ARE ALREADY SUFFERING

origination from the U.S. sector."

The grip of the crisis is all too real. The U.S. housing crisis continues to worsen by the day, and the infection is spreading. Credit card and automobile loan companies report a growing number of owners aren't paying their bills, while personal bankruptcy filings are rising. Americans shot up 10 per cent in November, as nearly 100,000 companies threw in the towel that month.

And that doesn't even include the over-stretched full-time Christmas crowd. Making matters worse, job growth in the U.S. has hit the slud. In December, the unemployment rate was pumped to a two-year high of five per cent from 4.7 per cent in November, one of the most pronounced spikes in decades.

If the threat of mass layoffs isn't enough to push consumers, the price of oil is near an all-time high of US\$100 a barrel, with some predicting it could go as high as US\$150. America over greets at the pump is putting a final nail on consumer confidence. Most Americans just don't see how their country can escape this mess without suffering a

to those outside America's borders. The idea took hold as late as when Brent such as Gold even looks and go Morgan Stanley's call on a new wave from about the effects of a possible U.S. slowdown. As the time, the current's people's housing crisis was just the start of nightmares for a few thousand mortgage brokers and bankers. Drawing on their last cash reserves, analysts spoke with confidence of how the "decoupling" of global growth was "fizzling," away from America to Asia and Europe. Since countries in those regions had greatly reduced their reliance on American consumers for their own growth, the theory went, they would blissfully keep humming along.

And so, hopefully, would the Canadian economy. With thousands of planes, trains and trucks crossing the border with the U.S. each day, Canada has long been held hostage to the passions of the American economy. Roughly 95 per cent of all Canadian exports wind up south of the border. A recession there, and we would all come down with the flu. If the U.S. catches a cold, well, call up the under-



CHINA'S ECONOMIC BOOM HAS SET RECORDS, BUT WILL THE GROWTH SLOW AFTER THE OLYMPICS?

either. But if the world really did decouple, if Europe and Asia held their own this time around, then China's commodity exports like oil, gas and metals would still be in high demand and would keep us in good stead.

One credit crunch later, and many of the big proponents of the decoupling theory have been completely backtracked. Not only is a growing army of analysts now pegging the chances of a U.S. recession at close to 100 per cent (some believe it is already begun), they've all had to hand over the fact that the world has somehow decoupled from the

after the U.S. housing market blew up last year. When financial markets seized up in August, it wasn't just a Wall Street phenomenon. Thanks to mind-bending financial engineering strategies that sought to harness the free flow of capital around the world, firms had peddled promises of U.S. consumer loans and mortgages and sold them to investors worldwide. Within days of pricing up New York hedge funds and investment in Canada, Europe, Asia and Australia all began to suffer serious problems, and credit spreads on four continents were forced to

Sell, others fear the world will be ready to

to keep the economy humming. But all the talk of decoupling, the U.S. still accounts for about 25 per cent of China's direct exports, while many of the country's remaining shipments find their way to the U.S. through other nations, and economists are slowly scaling back their projections for China's growth. Nonetheless, many are doubly watching to see what happens after the Beijing Olympics this summer. Once the frenzied pace of construction eases, and the summer turns off, China may be forced to tighten its lending practices to cool its once-thriving economy. Analysts in Swiss-based Citibank brighten when there's a 50 per cent chance that will suddenly slow Chinese growth. AU's recession would only crank up those odds.

More and more, those who suggest Canada can weather the current economic storm risk looking like Phlegyasians optimists on the face of mounting evidence that Canada's exposure to the U.S. will drag us down too, they continue to insist that, somehow, we'll sail past through on the backs of emerging markets. If such a view is proved right, then Canada shrinks, at worst, suffers a mild cold down before picking up steam again. But if they're wrong, well, just look south of the border to see what's in store. ■

GOLD HAS HIT US\$900 AN OUNCE, A SURE SIGN OF FEAR THAT THE U.S. DOLLAR WILL KEEP FALLING

States. As Peter Bernstein, an economist at Goldman Sachs said last December, "We think gold will be the year of the 'treasure'."

But would it be a true saving grace, or may well be. The thing is, there was never much evidence that the world decoupled in the first place. Consider, for instance, just how fast the liquidity crisis swept the globe: inject billions of dollars of liquidity to keep markets from grinding to a halt.

But what started in the abstract world of global finance has quickly morphed into an old-fashioned stampede. Investors, with no

areas are building. In December, global manufacturing activity fell to a 4½-year low, driven by the slowdown in the U.S. And despite the assurance for Canada that this time it would be different, the country shed 18,700 jobs in December—the most since 1985. The business weekly Bureau recently produced a sharp correction for the latter this year as U.S. economic pain spreads. "Economists can talk all they want about decoupling," the paper said, "but the Canadian economy is in inescapably tied to the U.S. economy as fragile supply is to panicles." Rather than decoupling, the world economy seems as closely tied as ever.

Even in Europe wobbles, though, there are still many analysts holding out hope that emerging markets in Asia will successfully double the U.S. recession. For one thing, there's no denying those countries have become powerful ones in their own right. Three countries—China, Russia and India—accounted for half of all global growth last year, according to the International Monetary Fund. And those countries have taken steps to cut their dependence on American shoppers. Last week, analysts at RBC Research in Montreal pointed out that China's share of exports to G7 countries has declined in importance, while reports to other emerging markets are booming. And that should provide some cushion against the effects of a slowdown in Europe and the U.S.

Sell, others fear the world will be ready to

to keep the economy humming. But all the talk of decoupling, the U.S. still accounts for about 25 per cent of China's direct exports, while many of the country's remaining shipments find their way to the U.S. through other nations, and economists are slowly scaling back their projections for China's growth. Nonetheless, many are doubly watching to see what happens after the Beijing Olympics this summer. Once the frenzied pace of construction eases, and the summer turns off, China may be forced to tighten its lending practices to cool its once-thriving economy. Analysts in Swiss-based Citibank brighten when there's a 50 per cent chance that will suddenly slow Chinese growth. AU's recession would only crank up those odds.

LARRY MARSHALL/ALTO PHOTO FOR THE GLOBE AND MAIL; PHOTOS BY JEFFREY M. COOPER



BLACK AND WHITE are still close, but their careers have taken dramatically different paths

Turning the page after Hollinger

Conrad Black's ex-partner Peter White faces a new challenge

BY MARTIN PATRICKSON • Conrad Black is going north. So is his former lieutenant, David Keller. (It's an coincidence and for two men who once ruled some of the world's most prestigious newspapers. But for the third member of the famous partnership that created the Hollinger empire, life has taken a very different turn.

With his purchase of the Quebec Chronicle-Telegram, a Quebec City English language weekly paper, Peter White has quietly reentered the business that made the two rich and infamous. White was the man who bought the *Stereo Review* along with Radler and Black, back in 1969, and later steered Kavelson, Black's holding company, to its heights in the 1980s and '90s. He is often regarded as Black's ideological match, mania for the letter and tendency toward hubris. And now he's out on his own again, albeit in the far less glamorous world of Quebec's English-language media.

Billed as North America's oldest newspaper, the *Chronicle-Telegram* has published almost continuously, under several names, since 1764. This claim for antiquity translates, however, into roughly 1,600 subscribers, it is the *London Daily Telegraph* or even the *Stereo Review*, for that matter.

White says retirement, not his business sense, drew him to the quirky paper that

began publishing five years after the British victory at the Plains of Abraham. Its offices were also housed in a stone mansion, and until recently, the paper was run out of the former owner's basement. "I bought it because it was there," White said from his home in the Eastern Townships. "I think it's great owning the oldest newspaper in North America and to see what we can do with it."

The bespectacled White, who remains in close contact with Black, has employed a method learned in his Hollinger days: buy low, cut costs and exploit every possible asset. In the *Chronicle-Telegram's* case, that means its archive.



stretching back over 200 years, he says.

This might seem like a precipitous fall for a man who was once a senior exec in one of the world's biggest newspaper chains, but White doesn't really see the *Chronicle-Telegram*. He emerged from Hollinger's wreckage with his reputation and personal fortune intact. Still, White has been friend and fierce defender of his former partner, through a time when many of Black's former allies either carefully distanced themselves or turned against the former press baron outright.

To this day, White says Black was a victim of an overly zealous prosecution team, and expects that he will eventually clear his name. "He's fighting hard still and he's very optimistic about his chances on appeal, and I would agree that at the very least the appeal on the obstruction of justice charge should be successful." And, despite Radler's public betrayal of Black, White refuses to say a bad word about the man. "Nobody knows what really happened apart from those two men. I put a great deal of credence in what Conrad says, but I've never spoken to Radler about it."

And really, White has plenty of other things to occupy his thoughts these days. A former staffer in Brian Mulroney's PMO, he remains active in politics, serving as president of both his local federal Conservative and provincial Action démocratique du Québec chapters, where he has been a member of some charged with bringing Anglophones to Marie-Dominique's right-leaning party. He recently acted in a musical (he played a judge with a ferocious baritone) and raced Laser sailboats on Lake Louise during the summer. He plays a lot of chess, and was, until recently, the proprietor of two do-hicks, Glen Mountain in the Townships and Mount Norquay in Banff.

White has assumed a publisher's role. He is, after all, New Brunswick-born Pierre L'Esperance, to overhaul the newspaper, including a revamping of its website, a return to the newsstand and a new emphasis on ad sales, all without alienating the paper's well-worn and devoted subscribers. They are a library, of older, lazier, roughly 30,000 English readers in Quebec City, a fact reflected in the *Chronicle's* headlines: "Serious housing project eventually moves a step forward" — and its abundant obituaries. Still, White hopes to drastically cut the number of printed copies in favour of Web-only subscriptions, which are sold for the same price as the paper version. He

78212+

Your retirement is about more than numbers.

At RBC, we don't start with the numbers, we start with you. Our advisers ask unexpected questions that get right to the heart of what's really important to you. A mobile financial planner can meet with you to understand your vision of retirement, and help you create a financial strategy that gets you there. After all, your retirement is about so much more than numbers.

Call now to have an RBC mobile financial planner come to your home.

1-866-335-4055 rbc.com/yourfuture



FOR YOU

Investment advice and financial planning services are provided by Royal Mutual Funds Inc., Royal Mutual Funds Inc. is licensed as a financial services firm in the province of Quebec. (CIBC World Financial Corp. is a subsidiary of CIBC World Financial Corp.) © 2005 RBC. All rights reserved.

SEARCHING FOR AN M.B.A. WITH A SOUL

One teacher's fight to turn business school grads into professionals

BY JORDAN TISHMAN • It doesn't seem like academia has much respect for the manager anymore. Rich and famous business leaders continue to make the news for scandal and greed, while the corporate job market is deluged with M.B.A.s. Over a new publication, it's now the second-most popular graduate degree in America, and that has made boom times for private business schools of dubious merit, and degree factories in places like India and China.

Arranging coursework, respect for the value of a business education is lower than it's been in some time. But would things be different if business education itself were professionalized—IM B.A. programs become more like professional degrees in medicine, law or engineering?

Rajesh Khanna, an associate professor at Harvard Business School, believes that's what an M.B.A. was always intended to be. In his new book, *From Higher Aspires to Higher Hopes: The Social Transformation of American Business Schools and the Unfulfilled Promise of Management as a Profession*, Khanna contends that the founders of the first university-based business schools—Wharton, at the University of Pennsylvania, Tufts, at Dartmouth College, and Harvard—were trying to create the field of management study, and that business education today has drifted from the original vision of developing a class of business leaders who share their vocations as a profession. "And a profession isn't simply an act of bringing an occupational body of knowledge," Khanna says. "That a profession is the full normative issue, the use of that knowledge oriented toward society—an obligation of the practitioners in that profession to put the interests of the people they serve ahead of their own private self-interests."

Themselves instead of their own benefit in business students, he argues, is actually antithetical to the fundamentals of higher

education. In other words, churning out cheerless clones of money-hungry suits who dream of hedge-fund riches and a yacht before age 30 is not the kind of thing to which august universities offering ought to be devoted.

Khanna claims that university-based business schools have drifted in part because of their failure to define a body of knowledge that managers need to master in order to be effective in their jobs. "We have no equivalent of the body of knowledge that's accorded to in medicine, or of the body of knowledge that's accumulated in the case of law," he explains. "There's a great deal of disagreement about what it is that business students really need to know."



RATHER THAN CHURNING OUT money-hungry hedge fund managers, Khanna wants schools to aim higher

In the past three decades, Khanna says, a view has arisen that CEOs are nothing more than hired help, who must bend to the will of investors and whose sole purpose is the maximization of shareholder value. The professor thinks that this has been particularly harmful to the notion of what managers do. It's more "away from an inspiring profession with social obligations to a narrow self-interest group that has to be bribed to do the right thing, obviously not the best of all

any aspiration for students to be managers." As a result, Khanna contends, most students at elite business schools no longer have any interest in using their M.B.A.s to pursue managerial careers. "They're more interested in becoming agents of stress [in the firms of consumers, or professional investors in the form of private equity or hedge funds]. They're more interested in firing CEOs than in actually being one."

But even among those who agree with Khanna's basic concerns, the notion of professionalizing a controversial one. Roger Martin, dean of the University of Toronto's Rotman School of Management, acknowledges that business schools have been slow to address questions of ethics and social responsibility, but he's skeptical of Khanna's solution. Instead he'd like to see those issues integrated into the M.B.A. curriculum.

Martin admits Khanna's willingness to challenge what university-based business education should be, though—and training



Happy New Year CEOs! You're fired.

BY JOHN IVINS • The list of high-profile CEOs who've called it quits since the holiday season is enough to make you wonder if there was something in the expensive egg nog this year. Kippenhaver, Goldman, Visa North America and Best Western are among an expanding list of companies whose bosses handed in their notice in the first couple of weeks of 2008. Add to that the top-level executives who've been kicked out. CIBC snafu: two high-profile jobs in the second week of the new year. That same week Jang & Oki and Starbucks dumped their CEOs.



KIPPENHAVER'S Darryl Kippenhaver is one of many looking for a new job

Traditionally the second quarter of the year, according to one U.S. study, has been the busiest period of center office departures. So why all the resignations and pink slips now? Some experts blame the economic downturn as the U.S. resulting from the subprime mortgage crisis. They, they say, put increased pressure on many executives to shape up or risk being kicked out.

For those fired enough to plot their own exit strategy, experts say the new year makes sense for a couple of reasons. The holiday provides a lot of time for reflection and future planning. And, says Timothy Leary, who has been the executive level head of writing since for 30 years, it's bonus time. Leaving before your cheque has been cut is obviously bad. So, says a partner with Toronto-based freelance Associates, he has a potential client who is waiting until Jan. 31 to quit as he used to leave each of his 100? But "You want to get that cheque on your hand, get it cashed and then quit," says Leary.

Though CEOs are the firing line, don't think that means leaving, they often get a reprieve over Christmas—a product, says Leary, of corporate guilt, not compassion. "It's human, a genuine belief children's," he says. "After all, he adds, "they don't make the decision on firing day." ■

Teaching kids about evil capitalists

BY JASON KIRBY • If Karl Marx were alive today, and given to a bunch of armchair psychologists, he might take up a job writing French and German school textbooks. He'd be right, as if a recent report into what students in these two countries learn about business and economics is any indication.

In its most recent survey, the well-regarded journal *Foreign Policy* cracked open some recently written school books and found them to be chock full of the many ills of globalisation, bad work, environmentalism and capitalism, with some passages describing the latter as "hateful," "evil," "two-faced," and, horror of horrors, "American."

According to the piece in the journal, entitled *Europe's Philosophy of Failure*, one French high school textbook teaches that "economic growth imposes a hectic form of life, producing overwork, stress, nervous depression, cardiovascular disease and, according to some, even the development of cancer." Meanwhile, German kids are taught "the worldwide call for more development in reality means a grim fate for the material life of the modern nation state." In other words, Jack and Jill went up the hill and formed an exclusive waste monopoly.

While Europe is well known for its left-of-center point of view, the journal says contemporary state-subsidized curricula have taken this to an extreme. Students are schooled that private capitalism is destroy jobs, while government policies create the mess and that free markets have only five drawbacks. While this may be an interesting exercise in propaganda.

"That has too much to do with the economics of capitalism than it has to do with the economics of the market," says the journal. "These beliefs inform students' choices in life." That could explain some troubling realities about risk-taking there. Germans are more than twice as likely as Americans to believe one should not start a business if it might fail, while polls have found just over in five Germany and French were not to be their own boss. Marx, at least, would approve. ■

How to profit from global warming

BY COLIN CAMPBELL • For those people who have been buying planting trees and buying carbon offsets to help save the world from greenhouse gases, you might consider hedging your bets on the future of global warming.



THE UBS Greenhouse building will rise as earth warms

One recent international study found that carbon dioxide emissions went up by 35 per cent between 1990 and 2006. And looking ahead, the evidence suggests that emissions will keep rising for the foreseeable future. As the saying goes, hope for the best, but prepare for the worst.

That's where the UBS Greenhouse Index might come in handy. Last week, the investment bank UBS said it will launch the first index that will allow investors to bet on greenhouse gas emissions and their effect on the weather. The index will track existing markets where emissions factors contracts and weather derivatives are traded. The idea is to make it easier for not only institutional investors, but for individuals to gain some exposure to these growing markets, and to gain some measure of protection against the economic costs of a warming globe. As emissions rise, so too will the value of the index.

The index will be made up largely of futures contracts on the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, where weather contracts are traded, and the European Climate Exchange, where carbon dioxide emissions are traded. It builds on the UBS Global Warming Index launched last year, which has already drawn about \$100 million from investors. "If climate risk is not meant to go into this, they can at least track what's going on in the market," says Christine Dittus, a spokeswoman with UBS. It will also help smaller investors follow these markets without having to deal with all the complexities and regulations that go with them, she adds.

The earth could well be firing warning as emissions go up, but if you play the market just right, at least you'll have a little money left over to buy that summer vacation home on Baffin Island. ■



BUNGLING EMPLOYEE CAUSES HAPPY LANDINGS
Miles Kravitz, a 21-year-old building contractor in the Chaudron town of Wisconsin, has a three-step plan to a construction job and recently, he landed in a good one. He should have, but the family-owned came in with a deadly twist, but because he kept employee Kravitz hired it right, he ended with a spin, acquiring it. Injury "Normally I'd be furious," Kravitz says, "but in this case I'll let him off."

COMES WILL CALL

Suddenly teen pregnancy is cool?

For the first time in years, more kids—and not just in movies

BY CHERY BELLI • When Justin Lynne Speers, the 16-year-old sister of Britney, announced she was pregnant last month in *OK!*, the magazine sold a record two million copies and had more than a second printing of the issue to keep up with demand. How could a wealthy popstar ad with her own hit Nickelodeon show, and the good sister to her famous older brother, be just several months away from adolescence, out-of-control motherhood? "I didn't believe it because Jennie Lynne's always been so conscientious. She's never late for her car line," lamented another Lynne Speers. She got over the shock in a week, and then Justin Lynne, ever conscientious, notified the press that she would be having, keeping and raising the baby with her parents. In Louisiana, "I'm just trying to do the right thing," said the star of *Zoey 101*.

Only a few days later, the film *Juno* had been released as a hit and universal applause from such diverse sources as *The New Yorker*, *Christianity Today* and *Film Crash*. Central: Suddenly the heroine of a hit movie—a comedy no less—could be a smart, motivated, white, middle-class girl, just 16, who mother of herself chooses to have a baby and an open adoption rather than an abortion. No big deal.

Unplanned pregnancy is now a pop-culture staple. Movies like *Kinship* (Up and Walnut), and celebrity albums including Nicole Richie and Jessica Alba, are part of a trend that's sweeping teen culture along

with it. American Idol star Fantasia Barrino became a mom at 17, and the last season of *Project Runway* the host Germaine Anderson's friend realizing she might be pregnant. "The media is awash in it," says David Landry, senior research associate at the Guttmacher Institute in New York, a non-profit organization focused on sexual and reproductive health. Even *Goyle's Anatomy* had a teen pregnancy storyline last year, and just last week so did *Goosebumps*.

"As an idea, teen pregnancy is more socially accepted," says Andrea O'Reilly, a women's studies professor at York University in Toronto, and director of the Association for Research on Making Evidence of a less-averaged generation was best summarized by Hollywood's most sought-after paparazzi mom, Lindsay Lohan. "Why does everyone think that's a big deal?" she replied when asked what she thought of Justin Lynne's situation.

There's even the statistical confirmation that something—something real—was happening in 2006, for the first time in 17 years, the teen birth rate in America actually increased, and a report by the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS), a branch of the U.S. Census for Disease Control. Meanwhile, in England, the number of pregnancies among females under age 18 also rose in 2005—to the highest point since 1966, according to the U.K.'s Department for Children, Schools and Families.

So far, the numbers aren't rising in Canada, but our statistics are a couple of years old—from 2005.



Some experts say that what does does become available, we face the same risk as our neighbors. "Overall trends for the three focus areas tend to mirror each other," says Alex McKay, research coordinator of the Sex, Abuse, and Education Council of Canada. "If we're seeing an increase in the teen birth rate in the U.S. and the U.K.," he continues, "it is quite likely we may see the same thing occur in Canada."

In an era when not getting pregnant should be easy, explanations for the jump in births among teens are speculative, if not elusive. Data on abortion rates to contraception use are outdated, so there's little way of knowing for sure how much of the increase is due to a rise in unprotected sex or a possible decline in abortion rates. Some experts say it's just a blip, a statistical aberration we'll see corrected next year.

Others believe the problem is institutional, that ineffective abstinence-only programs are to blame in the U.S. Or that we may have simply moved out how much teen pregnancy can be prevented. "Whenever you try to improve things it's resisted in the beginning," says Bill Albert, deputy director of the National Campaign to Prevent Unwanted Unplanned

work, meaning leave for students so they can recover and get used to the baby without penalties for missing class. In Canada, there is a recognition that teenagers should receive more help too. "Schools try to offer flexibility to young mothers," says Marisa Povey-Dunlop, chief of school work with the Toronto District School Board's northwest region. Consequently, many girls don't drop out, she observed, "because there isn't the stigma that there once was." Lynne Lynne, for her part, was photographed recently posing a GED study book to get her high school equivalency degree.

"There's a misunderstanding of motherhood," says O'Reilly. "Teen moms are saying, why can't I be a mother now?" She believes that as older women are gaining acceptance as new mothers, adolescents are imitating their maternal rights too. "Before, the time of motherhood was restricted. Now it's okay at 16. So why not at 15?" The feminist motherhood movement, as O'Reilly refers to the growing desire for support for teens of all ages, has people questioning societal expectations about when is the right time to have children. "It's part of a larger reexamining of motherhood practices, old mothers, young mothers. That wasn't possible 20 years ago."

UPSIDE TO SEE: The rising American teen birth rate in 2006 is something of an eye opener. Between 1991 and 2005, the United States saw a 34 per cent decrease in the birth rate among those aged 15 to 19. But in 2006, that relatively steady decline was reversed. **Bad**



CELEBRITY models for teen pregnancy include Justin Lynne Speers and Juno (right)

Pregnancy, based in Washington.

Those who use the signs of something more profound offer a range of explanations: a solid baby culture that devalues the hard work of motherhood; ever-changing family structures that normalize non-traditional arrangements; children who live at home longer than ever with parental support and aren't expected, if they have kids of their own, to quantify the father.

Ironically though, it seems teen pregnancy has become more accepted. A Denver high school is considering triple-lecturing a four-

week morning leave for students so they can recover and get used to the baby without penalties for missing class. In Canada, there is a recognition that teenagers should receive more help too. "Schools try to offer flexibility to young mothers," says Marisa Povey-Dunlop, chief of school work with the Toronto District School Board's northwest region. Consequently, many girls don't drop out, she observed, "because there isn't the stigma that there once was." Lynne Lynne, for her part, was photographed recently posing a GED study book to get her high school equivalency degree.

In England and Wales, the birth rate per 1,000 females under age 20 rose to 49.5 in 2006 compared to 44.8 in the year before. Not a huge jump, but it's already one of the highest rates in the developed world. The United Nations' less comprehensive tally of 65 countries, from 2004, showed the U.K. has the third-highest teen birth rate, with 26.5 births per 1,000, slightly lower than Russia (28.2) and well above Japan (1.6), France (2.6), Italy (3.7) and Germany (3.7). The U.S. was about there all, at 41.8 per 1,000 females.

Canada ranks mostly in the middle, with a teen birth rate of 13.4 per 1,000 females in 2005 (or 14.5 in 2006, as stated in the UN report), but that's down 41 per cent over the decade. Interestingly, we're not alone in the trend. In 2005, teen birth rates in 19 had 34.3 births per 1,000. And among the under-19 age group, the number of births per 1,000 plummeted a nearly 60 per cent between 1995 and 2006. (Birth rates, of course, are not the same thing as teen pregnancy, which includes births and abortions and therefore captures the broader picture of how many adolescents are actually dealing with pregnancy, one way or another. Like birth rates, pregnancy rates also showed declines through the late 1990s and early 2000s in the U.S., the U.K. and Canada, but less so.)



A Denver school is considering a four-week maternity leave for students

maternity leave between two and five years old.)

What no one knows in Canada, for now, is what's been happening in the last couple of years. McKay suggests Canada should consider rates in other countries as foreshadowing of what could be happening here. "Although there are profound differences between Canada and the United States," he says, "both countries have seen a persistent long-term decline in teen pregnancy rates over the last quarter-century." That both our northern neighbor and England have seen reversals means "there's a fairly big probability we will see the same," he continues. Adds David Cox, executive director of the Ottawa-based Institute

of *Marriage and Family Canada*, an arm of Focus on the Family. "Of course Canada follows the U.S. in trends like this."

And the U.S., before becoming the jump in its teen birth rate in 2006, first witnessed a flat trend out. "The rate of decline had slowed in the last few years," explains Ventura, "so maybe that was an early indication that it was about to reverse." Similarly, England's birth rate has barely budged since 2000.

In Canada, the declining teen birth rate has also leveled off (from 14.9 births per 1,000 in 2001 to 12.6 in 2004 to 13.4 births one year later).

NO WHAT IF THIS ISN'T A SLIP? It could be that teen rates are falling where in reality a major slide trend in the U.S. Across all ages (from 15 to 44) their births rose up, according to the NCHS. Between 2003 and 2006, more women had babies than had since 1976—in excess of 4.2 million. And the 2006 fertility rate was the highest it had been since 1971. Explosive news for the overall measure is relative as for the rising teen birth rate.

"The short answer is none of us really know why the rates went up," says Albert. For teens, many blame the rise on abstinence-only programs, which have blossomed in the U.S. since 1996 with more than \$1 billion in federal funding. Critics say they deny teens of useful decisions that could help them make safer decisions when they do have sex. "There is precious little evidence to suggest that abstinence-only interventions work," says

Albert. Back's reluctant to get much stuck in arguments for or against abstinence-only, since those programs contend during the major decades between 1996 and 2006.

In Canada, the federal government has assembled guidelines for abstinence, but programs differ by school board, school and province, says McKay. He believes programs are not uniform enough across the country to make a consistent contribution to the health of Canadian youth. "The extent and quality of sex education varies from excellent to non-existent. And unfortunately, the non-existent is more common," he says.

Poor access to emergency contraception and abortion also may explain the increase in teen births. "There are more limits now on emergency [longer] waiting periods, fewer abortion providers," says Lindsey. As well, they often require travel, parental permission, and, in large Erie, Pa., schools, teens may be more reluctant to terminate because it has

become "such a politicized, divisive issue." Meanwhile, pharmaceuticals can tell the wrong story only to female teen doctors, you might get into a doctor's note, a professor since the medication must be administered within 72 hours of having sex.

The situation isn't much better in Canada. The rising-older pill, while readily available, requires a consultation with a pharmacist, which costs up to \$45 plus the drug fee. And according to a 2007 report by the Canadian Federation for Sexual Health, less than one in six hospitals provided abortions in 2006, and many provinces do not have full health insurance coverage for teenagers due in clinics

even hasn't gotten any younger—17 in the U.S., and 16.5 in Canada. The use of condoms and hormonal birth controls had increased as of 2002 in the States, and in Canada, contraception use has risen—nearly 67 per cent of teens have safe sex. (The latter suggests that abstinence-only programs are not work.) And adolescents here aren't having any more sex than their older generations either. "In some ways, [teens] tend to be more conservative now than they were in the past," says McKay.

During the 1960s and '70s, sex was a rise of passion equaled with early teenage and hormones, he surmises. Today, many teens have sex for reasons associated with

BIG DEAL As an idea, teenage pregnancy is just more socially acceptable today



'Before, the time of motherhood was restricted. Now it's okay at 18. So why not at 16?'

pleasure, relationships and exploration. "It's done in adult contexts."

THE FACT THAT "BARBERS" says the list of teen pregnancies at some people even suggests that pregnancy—adultery, sex, unplanned, out of wedlock, whatever—has moved into a new realm of acceptability.

Since "It's no longer a scary word," says Ontario-based sex therapist Sue McGuire. "It's been normalized." Entertainment-related, which have long featured teen's world has, have turned their attention to the latest reality in Hollywood—pregnant teens. And actors, heavy consumers of such media, are getting the message that "having a baby is the new hot thing," says Nicole Fischer, 22, who lives in Calgary and just gave birth to her son. Cristian five months ago.

"Popular culture is showing a more positive representation of young mothers," says O'Reilly. Today, having an unexpected baby

can be more of an image enhancer than a scandal these days. It's part of a larger trend to make misbehavior feel cool and happening, she says. "If you're 18, you want a baby on your hip, a mistress, and a guitar on your back." In many ways, celebrities have helped prove that one doesn't just "blow it off cool" and not experience the wrench, or the end of the line," says Ariel Gade, a Portland, Ore.-based blogger and author of *Brother from the Star* (see from the New Generation of Mothers,



among other books

"Time as it may sound, Albert says social norms are shaped by our culture. "The binary of this world and the Angeles jokes may have an effect. To ignore it would be folly."

Of course, to say it's all past-tense would also be wrong, says O'Reilly. "The glamour and romance quickly goes—when you're having morning sickness in a child birth for two days. That's when [Hollywood] culture worries me," she continues, "because that's not how motherhood is."

However misguided, Denker-Pew says that some teens "no longer think there's a big deal" about teenagers—and so, presumably, getting pregnant. An awareness is daily connect with adolescents, she says that personal growth is a way of life. It is not unusual for her to get calls about 13- and 14-year-olds who are expecting babies. "That would have been unheard of a while ago," she says. "And yet it's no longer cause for panic."

Calvin adds, more teen birth rates may also have to do with home life. Powerless teen girls, whose casual sex may be observed among single parents. "There's a lot of fear about separating and divorcing, and parents having new partners but not getting married. There's a message that this is a natural," she

explains. "It's no longer love that sex." In fact, the ever more diverse family structures happening today—gay parents, multi dads and more marriages, open relationships, step and half siblings, and single parent adoption or in vitro fertilization—may allow some of the old shams of teen parenthood.

And now that more adult children live at home with their folks for longer—60 per cent of Canadians aged 18 to 24 did last year—there may feel they'll have more support in raising their child, just like James Lynn Sporn is counting on her mother's help. (Foster, mother, is living with the family of her boyfriend, who fathered the baby.)

One trend observed by Pauline



CANADIAN NUMBERS aren't as bad as the U.S. trend could be a teen-shaming

Patterson, director of the YWCA's girls and family programs in Scarborough, Ont., is a phenomenon called "teeny dadling." Teen mothers are slowly having more than one baby without fathers in a way affecting babies with one parent in their lives—and it's yet another way that adolescents are putting their stamp on parenthood and establishing new family models.

Of course, few people would say they encourage adolescent motherhood. Across Eva Mendes, during the launch of her song for PETA ad, and of unplanned births. "It's so epidemic and I don't want to sound like Lily Allen, the 22-year-old singer, announced her pregnancy in *Marie Claire*. Soon after, she announced that she was surprised but "thrilled" to be expecting a child too.

The main difference these days is that the reverse shame and stigmatization from used to have when they got pregnant has lessened—if only slightly, says Kayla Clark, 18, who got pregnant despite using two forms of birth

control. She gave birth to son William almost two years ago. That change is partly because parents, teachers and health care workers are warning that much worse things can befall an adolescent. "New parents worry about serious drugs, HIV or AIDS," says O'Reilly, not to mention gang violence. In June, for example, the parents learned a huge sigh of relief when the 16-year-old daughter had come to confirm turned out to be a pregnancy—they were terrified she had been expelled or was addicted to drugs.

There's also recognition that offering support to pregnant teens doesn't necessarily have to come of shaming, shaming. "Telling me the stigma isn't going to cause a bunch of young women to get pregnant," says Gade.

She suggests the rising birth rate may be a backlash to the intense campaign against teen pregnancy that began in the 1980s. Adolescents may be rebelling against the idea that they can't be parents. Gade also believes that teen mothers are more likely to motherhood after winning their own more stable health problems or career goals because they put off having kids until later in life. "I don't think there's anything intrinsically wrong with teen parenting," Gade says. Her help with the need for medical services to help adolescent mothers cope.

There are some indications support is taking priority. Louise Dean Centre in Calgary is one of only a few schools in Canada that cater to heavily pregnant teenagers and young mothers aged 14 to 20. "They feel more comfortable [in our school]," he's not ended their life," says co-ordinator Alison Dyer. "It's just about in a different direction." And groups for adolescent mothers, like the one run by Scarborough's YWCA, provide a doctor and

community support twice a week for meals and their babies. The group is constantly as modest in capacity with 150 a sitting.

Factor, who says she was "the perfect child" after family, and got pregnant after having sex for the first time, is among the students at Louisiana State. She has big plans to become a legal assistant. "My grades are up and I know I'm going to college," she says. "I know there is a way out. But you have to be responsible enough to make the choices."

Increasingly, teens are proving that they can pull off adolescence and motherhood at once. "There are some huge pregnancy success stories," McGraw says. "It's not necessarily all bad." Many young mothers are find-

ing new love and leading healthy and productive lives for themselves and providing a good upbringing for their children.

Part of that empowerment is tied upon the fact that unplanned pregnancy no longer automatically means that girls must have a secret abortion or put their baby up for adoption—as *Jeze* shows. Nor do they automatically have to marry the father of their baby. McKay says we are undergoing a profound transformation in the control women are exhibiting over the reproductive choice. Clark lives on her own with the baby in a sub-subsided housing and will begin studying nursing science at the University of Litchfield in September. She says that while the debate

KATLA CLARK, 16, with son William, attends a special school for teen parents in Calgary.



ing "socialization, capacity and purpose" in their new role, continues O'Reilly, and it's progress that is being seen in schools as they learn find work and establish a good life for their growing family. As much as we may not like to admit it, adds McKay, "there are many young women who are perfectly capable of being a child in

both termination and open adoption, she couldn't best giving up her child to another hand. "I could at the time of life knowing that [I wouldn't be] a teen parent," she says. "It's a matter of what we know as a teen parent," says O'Reilly. Historically, they were dismissed, or worse, they were known as "the disappointed," she says. "You were shipped off to Aunt Martha" for an abortion or to put the baby up for adoption. Now, "there's more cultural permission to be a young mother than 30 or 40 years ago," believes O'Reilly. "It's not a death sentence."

With help from Kate Louisa, Kim MacQueen and Julia McNeil.



BRITAIN: A WARM REMINDER OF GRANDMA

Capturing waste heat helps reduce energy costs. Officials near Manchester are considering diverting heat from the localised Greenhouse to warm the side-cut chipper after mountains have been used as a cold-air mass. Officials say they will convert the community heat into a cold-air mass. The waste heat has already weighed in. "As a final act of generosity, it's a lovely way for the deed to comfort the living at a difficult time."

THE BODY'S EVIDENCE

With ancient beliefs at stake, some Aborigines reject DNA testing

BY ALEXANDRA SIEMO The history of our ancestors is presently being rewritten by an unexcited, blind, American: geneticist Stuart Spencer Wells. For the past three years, Wells and his team have travelled the earth, and so date they have sampled the saliva and tissue of 10,000 Canadians and approximately 100,000 others in the world's largest anthropological study. The problem is that not every one agrees with the testing on the matter. Sponsored by National Geographic, where Wells is an explorer-in-residence, and IBM, the study, known as the Genographic Project, is examining how and when early man diverged from Africa, when he settled in Europe and Asia, and other genealogy questions, such as which ethnic groups have Jewish ancestry and whether Homo sapiens mixed with other extinct hominid groups. Like



TESTING Stuart Wells, right, explains how to collect a DNA sample with a swab.

researchers disagree whether Europeans settled in the New World long before the days of Christopher Columbus. There is a theory that there was a separate, earlier migration to North America from Europe about 15,000 to 18,000 years ago along the Atlantic, which would see Europeans may have settled in Canada long before Jacques Cartier ever caught sight of the St. Lawrence.

These investigations don't sit easy with many Aboriginal groups. Some elders are urging others not to participate in the study. "Canada should settle land rights first before anyone does that sort of research," says Arthur Manu, a member of the Ojibwa-Moskovich Indian Band and spokesman for the Indigenous Network on Economics and Trade, who has been encouraging First Nations persons not



PRIMARY SOURCE DNA from Indigenous people is crucial in tracking the migratory routes of early man.

to participate. "When you hear about this stuff, you know you are going to run into garbage from individuals like, 'Oh, you guys weren't here first!'"

In this age of genealogy, there is a rush to find out where we came from. But the ones that the discovery of early man is dependent on having indigenous peoples operate, says Wells. Many have remained skeptical about their own population, and their DNA is more likely to provide vital clues about the history of mankind.

When humans migrate, genes are passed down to their offspring from mother and father. Wells and his team look for specific mutations in autosomal DNA. It is a mutation from thousands of years ago that leads to a particular geographic region, then those genetic markers can be used to trace the routes only people evolved to reach the four corners of the earth. So far, the DNA evidence supports the first human land across between 50,000 and 60,000 years ago. One branch travelled up through the Middle East, along the coast of India, and reached Australia. Another branch ended in the Middle East, and then went to Europe and Asia.

Even there, the discovery theory is that a migration route to North America took place between 15,000 to 18,000 years ago, away from the Bering Strait. There is also linguistic and genetic evidence that there was a later migration to Canada up the West Coast of the Americas 6,000 to 10,000 years ago. If proven, a migration from Europe between 15,000 to 18,000 years ago might mean Europeans settled in North America before the first migration of natives—or perhaps even co-existence.

With the earlier migration. "This has a great complication for low socioeconomic native American ancestry and how native Americans see themselves," says Theodore Schurr, the Genographic Project's North American director, and professor of anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania. "If you say that the 'White people came here first' it is actually quite problematic."

Studies like these can have implications for native land claims, and also for traditional

"WE DON'T AGREE WITH TRACING THE DNA STORY. WE DON'T AGREE WITH EVOLUTION," SAYS ONE CREE.

stories about elders and their origins. For example, in the Cree creation story, says Ron Larocque, a member of Beaver Lake Cree Nation and executive director of the Confederacy of Treaty First Nations, "There was a creator who created each plant and animal species individually, and humans brought him." Any story that probes those themes is "unwelcome," Larocque adds. "We don't agree with tracing the DNA story. We don't agree with evolution or with playing God."

Schurr has the monumental task of collecting data from indigenous persons like Larocque. He acknowledges there may be disagreement between the scientific data and

traditional stories. However, Schurr doesn't think the genetic evidence will support the theory that Europeans arrived before the late migration of natives. That the preliminary DNA evidence suggests Europeans and natives are descended from different gene types. "A big part of what we are doing is trying to answer people's lives and overcome the levels of mistrust," he says.

To do that, the study is investing in programs to preserve traditional culture and language. The ground public is also encouraged to participate through the purchase of DNA kits. So far, 10,000 non-native

Canadians have bought a kit for \$99. Inside is a video, vials and swab sticks to gather cells from the mouth. About six to eight weeks after sending in the sample, people get back what migratory routes their ancestors took. Half the proceeds from the sale of the kits are placed back into Aboriginal cultural and educational projects.

Earlier attempts to undertake similar studies—such as the Human Genome Diversity Project in the 1990s—had to be cut back because of protests by native groups. Some were also worried that indigenous persons would see financially profit from any medical discoveries made from the sampling of their DNA. (The Genographic Project says it will not use the data to analyze disease history or map genetic diseases, although the latter still surfaces in conversations with indigenous persons.) "Misuse of the scientific community helps the Genographic Project doesn't suffer the same fate as earlier studies." It would be a "one-way street for humanity," says Mark Stoenberg, a professor at the Max-Planck Institute in Leipzig, Germany. An indigenous group internally and disagree at an ever accelerating pace, scientists believe the drama to capture human history is just deepening. "Everyone else has given up," Stoenberg adds. "If they get a fraction of what they are trying for, it will be very useful."



STOP CLIMATE CHANGE: SHIT GAS LIKE A ROO

Scientists in Australia are examining the possibility of transplanting a special bacteria found in the guts of kangaroos into cows and sheep. Kangaroos and sheep produce methane-producing microbes, which accounts for 14 per cent of all greenhouse gas emissions in their country, but cows produce no methane at all, thanks to the bacteria. There's an added benefit of more efficient digestion—they could get up to 15 per cent more energy out of the food.

THE BACK PAGES

film

Swelling into
Hollywood

Page 22

help

Home it on the
handwriting

Page 23

steyn

Opinions
on trial

Page 24

tv

Why talk shows
than talk

Page 25

music

Demystifying
Coltrane

Page 26

feschuk

World's
cheapest cog

Page 27

★ Before ★

ENTERTAINMENT WEEKLY 23

45

feschuk
World's
cheapest car

Once the TV cameras are gone, it's not always quite so 'happily ever after' BY JACOB RICHLER

A week or two back I stopped for dinner in Tacoma's Chinatown neighborhood in an unexpectedly charming little restaurant called JAB. One of the things I like to do in the area you will likely find a great concept to occupy the space of the long Boarding House. Instead you make your home

"That's a good name," says the family's son, Asim, when he gets the news.

"That's a great name," says his considerably more assertive wife, Shida, who has perpetually been down on the project all along, and long been seeking to dump it. "We'll take down the For Sale sign and see how the name flies over the top."

And in it happens, even though head chef Alan has given no sign of offering up to the challenge of assembling a decent grilled cheese sandwich, and the Café and Cabbage is the most healthily named (boosted for a restaurant since Peter Cook and Dudley Moore came up with the frog and peach) a countryside restaurant in Dartmoor where, as you may recall, offered only two items—frog in a peach and pecker in a loaf, things apparently no very well

"Cherie Simon and Lynn Crawford have worked their usual magic, transforming *Big Brother* into a casual but sophisticated spot for the game's pub set," writes Patricia Newman, "food writer," on the storyboard that goes up at the end of the show. And

sold to a new ownership group that had reopened the place as JAM Cafe nearly six weeks earlier, in August.

"In retrospect I wish we had put something different up on the boards [at the end of the show]," remembers Michael Taylor, who produced the current season's boards—for *Iron Mike*, and is clearly sensitive to the frequent accusations that it is both casual with the truth and comically self-aggrandizing about the benefits of *manushovins*. "Everything you see on the show is true," he insists, but

If you have not seen *Restless and Malicious*, this is how it goes: And I need to show it how it goes every episode, because the show is beyond formulaic—it actually appears to follow a minute-by-minute script, like so:

00:00-03:00 Introduce victimless restaurateur and wealthy con artist; then, after a hapless couple, outline how their failing restaurant will close enough have them persuaded to live in a sequestered colony; and then introduce their soon-to-be estate, a top designer and an Award-Winning Chef; member of whom you are likely to have overheard, and then break for expense reels.

00:09:00 10 Repeat the very little that has already occurred, and then on to the Rescue Team visiting the restaurant for the first time, whereupon the invariably horribly dressed Top Designer immediately sets about attacking the bad taste of the Decor team that preceded her there.

03-13-00 35 Repeat the very lode that has already occurred, then cut to Saviour Dax explaining how bad the situation really is, their pledge to fix it, and fade out with the instantan owner performing the ceremonial writing-of-the-check-for-\$15,000 that they can't afford to pay with, and the Ar-



The TV program, through restaurants Sabor Power, Cerveza and Bordo, Thai Thai Cafe



ent, just before the tides scroll by to close the show, another one reads, "Awe and distant Makeover team pledging to match it seems for years."

The only problem is that they never delighted any customers before or since. The

show documented a takeover executed in April, but by the time it was first aired on Oct. 1, the Carls and Cobban were long gone.



★ 'This place isn't Irish—it's not even green!' squeaks Award-Winning Chef

At P.J. O'Brien's in Toronto, the owners ignored all the makeover chef's suggestions

taste

...and, as long last, the arrival, wherein the delighted owners squeal "Oh my God!" a lot and sometimes even burst into tears because they drink for too much at lunch. Their exit with a poppy party season of long-suffering regulars, happy for the first time, and a "Thank to us they loved happily ever after" smileboard as two, steadily delivered in the form of a wildly enthusiastic national from a food writer devotedly never heard from before or since.

Meanwhile, every station has its Cook and Colleague. Last year, just months after Top Designer Robin Prosser and Renowned Chef David Alley (rebranded a Toronto restaurant named L'Espresso in Edwards's, a friend of mine sang me from his office next door to say that Edwards had just stopped him on the street to ask him if he wanted to buy his espresso machine. "It's a fine idea," I now told. "Right down to the last bit and pepper shaker." That sort of thing is to be expected. Sometimes Canada's documented 576 food service bankruptcies over the first 10 months of 2007, and the sort of restaurant that comes begging to the Restaurant Makeover team for help is by nature not going to be a place with better than average prospects in the middle of our December show, location undoubted, the power just shut off. But whether or not that makes it to us is doubtful; the producers like to prevent high stakes, but cravenly prefer the depiction of triumph to failure.

"I want to make their kids," designer Brenda Best confides of her motivations while she works on her redesign of a Toronto Indian restaurant called Dhruv, where owner P.J. Singh's crude caricature is purportedly stretched to the limit, and his children have expressed a desire to pursue a different sort of career.

When Irish-born politician Pat Quinn is preparing to expand his downtown Toronto pub P.J. O'Brien's into the freshly vacated space next door, we are informed quietly that it is up to the Restaurant Makeover gang to ensure that Quinn "doesn't lose his shirt, his pub and his legacy in the process."

Then they slip a "Closed for Restaurant Makeover" sign on the door even though the

redesign, and the chef usually ignores the proffered culinary advice, everyone's happy for the television exposure.

P.J. Singh likes Allen's redesign of his restaurant Dhruv, especially now that he has relinquished all the status of Indian duties (which he renounced, and asserts that living on television with her husband, star chef



TODAY'S SPECIAL... H₂O

Consumers who welcome multifunctional additives in food will no doubt love "Hydrogen-Enriched Water Electrolysis." A Japanese company is selling packets that, when immersed in water bottles, add entire atoms of hydrogen. This is said to act like antioxidants, fighting free radicals given off by metabolic activities. By drinking water with an extra hydrogen atom, promoters say, you can slow aging, fight illness and reduce stress.

MACLEAN'S

+82%

THE GLOBE AND MAIL

+10%

TIME

-36%

NATIONAL POST

-47%

Source: Audit Bureau of Circulations "Magazine Information Based on Single Copy Sales (Jan. Jan. '06 to '07)" Newspaper circulation based on Single Copy Sales of Sunday Edition (as recorded in March, 2006, 2007)

APPARENTLY YOU'RE NOT THE ONLY ONE BUYING MACLEAN'S.

MACLEAN'S
MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL.

How she move that 49th parallel

WE'RE STALKING
Although he's never of his client's favorite movie star, the movie star. This Beverly Hills resident was snapping from his yard on the other side of the fence. He is a dog who

But what about stripping the film of its Canadian identity? The story has the Jane Fonda Jawa, a Toronto dance team, driving in Detroit to compete against a troupe of Tards from Brooklyn, N.Y. for a \$25,000 cash

"Stepping is an American phenomenon that we're claiming, so in a way we're absorbing with American culture." Appropriation, it seems, is a dance that can be both won. ■

Although he'd previously forgotten George Clooney for calling one of his closer companions "a fat cow," Fabbro has now unforgotten the movie star. The spookiness stems from a run-in recently at a Beverly Hills restaurant, where Clooney claimed Fabbro's escort was harassing him. Fabbro says that Clooney was just jealous. "The yard on the other side is always more green," to insult women like that. He is a dog who can't even be worse than his boss.

www.News1130.com

ON SALE NOW!

WHEREVER MAGAZINES ARE SOLD

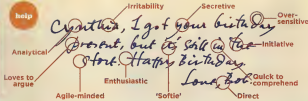


CANADA'S FASHION MAGAZINE

FLARE

Check out
our daily fashion
and beauty blog at
flare.com/report

ROGERS



A LOT OF men arrive with overly tall T's—concealed pride", says the expert. "But then they sit down and they get blown away."

She explains why you're divorcing

A psychotherapist analyzes couples' handwriting so they can part more peaceably

BY JULIA MOOREHEAD • Recently, psycho-

therapist Vanessa Oliver Folke, who runs a divorce clinic in Toronto, began offering a new service. For \$299 an hour, Folke analyzes the handwriting of couples who are splitting up. Using a magnifying glass, she scrutinizes the curves and loops in people's T's and D's for such "core issues" as intense anger or low self-esteem. A "squashed" D suggests hyperactivity, while an oblique one is revealed as control. "It's

No asterisk made me realize the couple Folke's goal is to help people understand their differences so they can part more peaceably. "There are people out there who love each other and have each other," she says, "and they don't want to hate each other anymore."

Years ago, when Folke was assisting over whether to leave her first husband, she mailed away a sample of her own handwriting for analysis. She had not yet studied graphology (she has since been credentialed by Chicago's International Graphological Society). She was mild. "You set your right on low for your self, it's actually you'll over go anywhere," Folke explains. "The higher you cross your T's on the T bar, the higher you set goals for yourself. Myself could cross it low I don't think I've ever seen anyone cross a T bar as low as mine." Folke left her husband. "I followed the truth and the truth was, if I stuck in any longer, I'd probably be dead." As for her former husband's handwriting, "he had

Mad writing. When you get an arrogant or capital letters, they're either an ego or an endline, or they're emotionally out of touch. He was emotionally out of touch." Couples who took Folke's handwriting analysis sessions meet with her in person, and select their own pen and paper. "I have

handwritten paper. Somebody who needs

"It's a cruel process," she admits. "Could I open a can of worms? It could. You have to have two willing partners. Let's say the man has really big D's, he's overly sensitive to criticism. Then the wife says, 'Oh, I know where that comes from. His moon is a real little.' Then that allows her to have more compassion for him. This is done in the spirit of understanding. This is not done in the spirit of passing judgement." A lot of men arrive with overly tall T's—on recommended pride, says Folke. "But then they sit down and they get blown away."

She exhibits two sample pieces of hand writing from an ex-husband couple. The man's writing is neat and small. The woman's is large and almost illegible. She looks at the man's handwriting, observing from his margins. "There's an indication of caution here but look at her writing! Look at her stroke! It's like a very independent. Her T says, 'I can do it myself.' Being independent like this, there are going to be challenges in the partnership. She'll probably isolate herself rather than reach out."

The man's sample is carefully written on a blank card. The card is addressed to the woman, asking for her forgiveness in the writing to end the relationship. "I thought we

were the real McCoy," he writes. "Look at this A." Folke says, pointing to the man's lower case A. "It's got a little roof on it. This guy is very bright. He's very investigative. He's going to be very hard on himself, and really hard on other people, too. He's not going to understand why they're so stupid."

In the woman's looping D's, Folke detects overreactivity. "Looping and hoisting means there's stuff going on." Loops can also mean denial, the type Folke describes as, "Let's say one of my sons does a lot of drugs. But I don't want to know that. The whole stress knows but I don't want to admit it."

Personal argument over a divorce. "If you have a P that looks like the second part of the P is lower than the stroke that begins the P—the higher the buckle the more representative the person is." Folke's still married parents both have buckling P's. "They better all the time," she says, adding that rising consonants like a P that looks like loops together. "It just depends. If there's a loop on the P, that means they like to argue physically."

As for handwriting abilities, Folke shakes her head at the woman's note: "This person doesn't have any. She's a free spirit." She takes a parting glance at the man's writing. "He feels deeply. He's very intense. It's not going to be easy far from to let that energy go."

But, she adds, "in this process it's like, 'You know what? This is who I am.' I believe happiness is knowing who you are and not apologizing for it." ■

MOST IMPROVED: JEREMY CLARKSON

The co-host of Britain's popular automotive TV show, Top Gear, has learned his lesson about privacy. Recently he wrote a newspaper essay discussing concerns about identity theft. To prove his point he published information about his bank account. "We have nothing to lose" he wrote. Shortly afterward, someone filed \$1,200 from his account. Jeremy Clarkson is proud. "I was wrong," he wrote in a follow-up, "and I have been punished."





IS THAT
ALL YOU'VE
GOT?

THE ALL-WHEEL DRIVE EVENT IS HERE.



INFINITI